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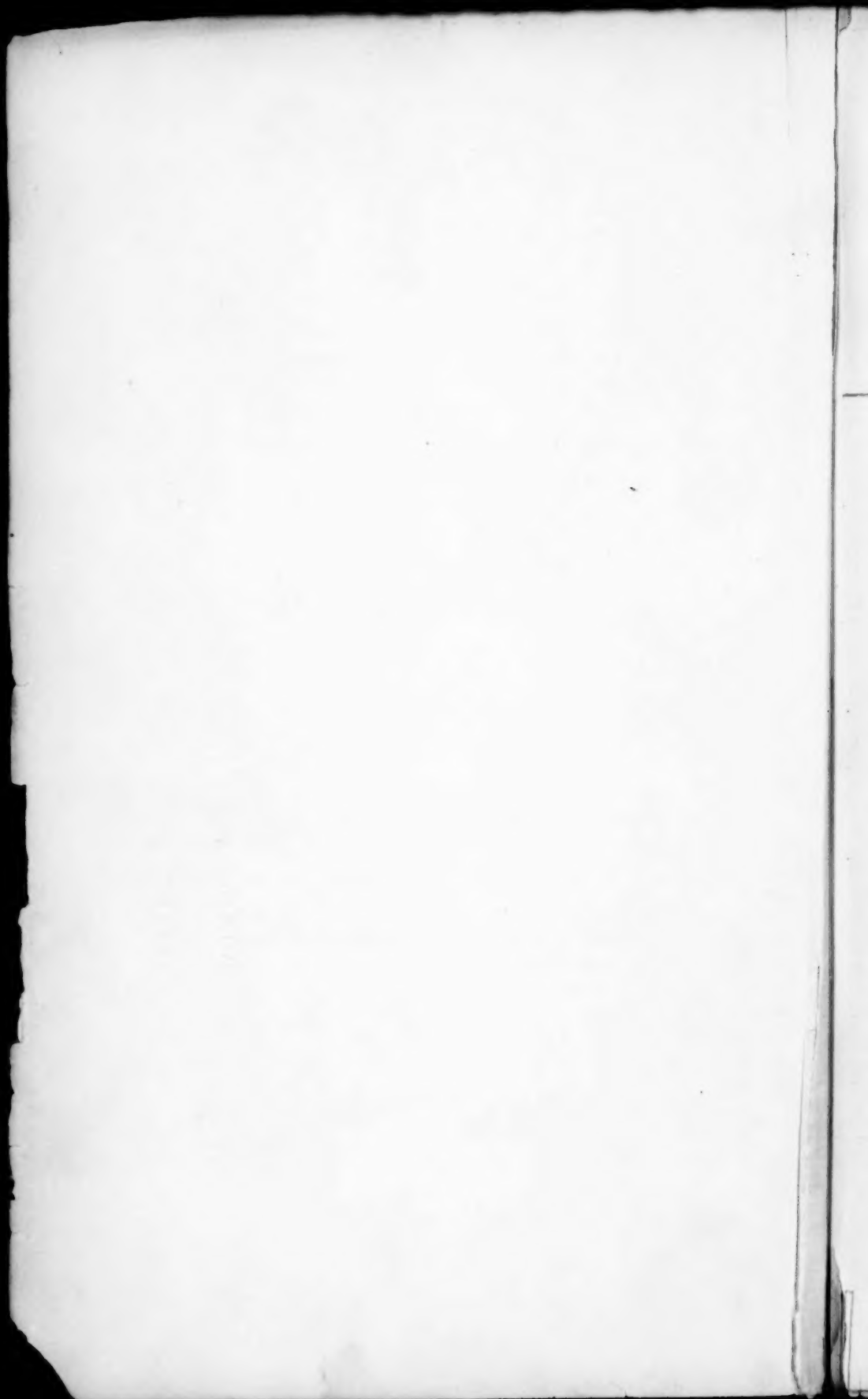
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ANNALS
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THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

Among the many problems which the rapid and restless progress of civilized mankind has created in the nineteenth century, the problem of immigration is not the least interesting. Former centuries have known migration on an extended scale; in fact the settlement of the earth is based on it. Empires have sprung into existence and vanished by large migratory movements, to which all the present powers owe their final development. Such migration of tribes, which changed the fate of nations and states in single violent onslaughts, has been superseded by immigration, that is the change of the domicile of individuals and families in large numbers, but without any apparent union of interests or destination. It is no longer the conqueror of the former centuries who threatens with open invasion, but it is now the humble and needy applicant modestly knocking for admission, in the hope of securing at least a small share of the wealth and culture of a more affluent nation. As long as there is an abundance to divide, as long as the new-comer can be properly provided for without any serious loss to the older settler, and especially as long as the latter sees

an advantage to himself to be derived from the labor or services of the newly arrived, immigration is welcomed with open arms. The time comes, however, in which the *beatus possidens*, the fortunate possessor who came ahead of the new arrival, may be no longer desirous of sharing his abundance with another, or may have nothing further to divide, or may be unable to foresee any immediate advantage to be gained from the presence of such new arrival; and then the conflicting interests of the former settler and the new arrival may assume the proportions of a serious problem.

In addition to these purely economic difficulties there may arise the danger of social and political evil influences through the arrival of too great a number of heterogeneous immigrants, which may threaten the progress and welfare of a highly civilized nation. Then indeed, by the supreme law of self-protection, the state authorities would be obliged to interfere in the interest of the freedom, happiness and culture of their subjects. If we may judge from the denunciations hurled from some of our more popular pulpits, as well as from editorial chairs, public meetings and debates in Congress, such a critical stage in our public life has actually appeared, and our economic as well as social and political life has been and is still threatened with the greatest possible danger from such immigration.

In the four years of my official life, as chief gate-keeper of the United States, I may freely state that of the many strange and unaccountable things with which I have been brought in contact, nothing has surprised me more than the conspicuous and permanent ignorance of the public at large in reference to the actual condition of immigration matters. For more than five years the port of New York, which handles about four-fifths of the entire immigration to the United States, has enjoyed the privilege of a special immigration station, established, on a large scale and with every improvement, on Ellis Island, in the harbor of New York; nevertheless, it is found that not only immigrants

but also citizens of the United States still speak and write of Castle Garden, which was the great receptacle for immigrants for nearly forty years, as the present point of landing. For eight years the old State Board of Commissioners of Immigration, which formerly consisted of the mayors of New York and Brooklyn, the presidents of the German and Irish societies and six other commissioners appointed by the governor of the state, has been superseded by one United States Commissioner of Immigration—nevertheless, it is the common belief, shared even by a large number of editors, that a Board of Commissioners still exists for the control of immigration at this port. The same anachronism exists in reference to the immigration laws and their enforcement, and the ignorance regarding the number and character of immigrants of past years and their handling by the federal authorities, is almost as profound.

Now it is true that in years gone by we have had as many as eight hundred thousand immigrants arriving in a single year at the various ports of the United States, not counting those who simply cross over the borders of neighboring countries into the United States. It is undoubtedly true that out of that very heavy immigration a comparatively large portion became charges upon our public institutions or, through the assistance of unwise and antiquated naturalization laws, were permitted to assert an undue influence in our public affairs. It is further undoubtedly true that, during years gone by, communities and private associations in Europe freely unloaded their charges upon the United States, without the formality of any question or restriction on the part of our laws, or concern by our officials. If such conditions still obtained, or if they had prevailed during the last four years, I should have been among the first to say, "Stop it, and stop it at once, in the most energetic and efficient manner, in the interests of American liberty, American welfare and

American civilization." I am, however, in a position to declare and to prove that such unrestricted immigration has for a number of years been a thing of the past, and that heavy immigration has been made practically an impossibility for the future.

In the face of actual facts, that part of our Declaration of Independence appears indeed like a glimpse of ancient history, which records, among the injuries and usurpations on the part of the King of England, his endeavor "to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither." As late as 1864, a law was passed by Congress to encourage immigration, in which no safeguards whatever were provided to protect us against the dangers to be expected from the very worst refuse of foreign population. Even in 1872, attempts were made in Congress to pass new laws promoting immigration. The first law of any restrictive character was passed in 1875 to prohibit the importation of prostitutes from China and Japan, but it was not until the year 1882 that the law to regulate the landing of immigrants in this country was passed, and in fact it was not until 1891 that any legal examination was required.

The most radical change in our laws, and in the practical enforcement of them, was introduced by the Act of March 3, 1893, which I have had the privilege of putting into practical execution on Ellis Island since the beginning of May of that year. Since that time it may be said that immigration has, in the broader sense, almost come to a standstill. The number of immigrants landed since the enforcement of the new law of 1893, that is such as may properly be called new arrivals, is actually hardly larger than the average immigration into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. At the same time the number of immigrants debarred from landing has increased in a marked degree, although, by the provisions of the same law, the

greatest part of the really undesirable immigrants are, *a priori*, deterred from even embarking for the United States. On the other hand, the number of foreign-born persons who have become public charges on our American communities or public institutions has largely decreased; and furthermore there is, under the present law and its enforcement, no necessity and, I may say, with proper administration by our American municipal or state governments, no possibility of any alien becoming a permanent public charge. These statements may appear to be sweeping, and may create some surprise, but I am fortunately in a position to verify them.

I have taken especial pains to determine the actual immigration under the new law, and, with this end in view, I have directed the statistical force at my command on Ellis Island to ascertain in the most detailed and reliable manner the number of aliens arriving, and to arrange them according to nationalities, to determine who had been in the United States before or who came here to join members of their immediate families—that is only immigrants related in the first degree, such as children, parents, brothers or sisters. Last year this method was adopted for the entire service.

It will be readily conceded that neither of these two classes can be properly called immigrants; nor do they, if not *per se*, belong to the excluded classes liable to add to the dangers experienced through former immigration. These are the surprising figures for the port of New York:

Fiscal year.	Total landing.	In the United States before.	Came to join immediate family.	Leave as immigration proper.
1893-4 . . .	219,046	29,782	90,887	98,377
1894-5 . . .	190,928	45,280	69,637	76,011
1895-6 . . .	263,709	48,804	95,269	119,636

Finally, for the calendar year 1896, out of 233,400 arriving on Ellis Island only 108,563 could be classified as immigrants proper.

The above figures will conclusively prove to any thinking person that the total immigration to the United States has, within the last four years, fallen to such small figures as to be absolutely insignificant as compared with our own enormous population.

It is worthy of note that with such nationalities as are generally regarded least desirable, the proportion of real immigrants to the total immigration is a particularly small one. To illustrate in figures, out of 42,074 Italians in 1893-94, fully 8111 had been in the United States before and 15,101 came to join members of their immediate families, thus leaving only 18,862, a little over 40 per cent, as the immigration proper for that period. Out of 28,736 Russians the same percentage, only 12,099 may be properly called immigrants. On the other hand, out of 38,711 Germans fully 20,641, or nearly 60 per cent, were new immigrants. In this way the much dreaded immigration from nationalities more foreign to us dwindles very considerably under proper analysis. The immigration authorities readily admit that a large share of the credit for the remarkable decrease in immigration during the last few years is due to the unprecedented financial crisis prevailing. However, they also assume some share of the credit for themselves. The "lynx-eyed" officials at Ellis Island have, I may venture to say, become almost proverbial abroad and only too well known to the steamship companies and their agents, upon whom rests the full financial responsibility for all immigrants who are not "clearly and beyond doubt entitled to admission." A few significant figures will serve to indicate the direct effect of the new law and its rigid enforcement:

During the fiscal year 1891-92, out of some 445,987 landed in New York only 1727, and in 1892-93 out of 343,422, not more than 817 were excluded. In 1893-94, from a total of but 219,046, fully 2022 were debarred from landing. In 1894-95, out of 190,928 arriving, 2077 and in 1895-96, out

of 263,709, no less than 2512 were debarred from landing at Ellis Island. While in this way, notwithstanding a continually decreasing immigration, a continuously larger number of would-be immigrants was debarred from landing, the number of persons returned within one year after landing as public charges from the whole United States decreased from 637 in the fiscal year 1892 to 577 in 1893, 417 in the fiscal year 1894, 177 in 1895, and 238 in 1896. It will thus be clearly seen, from the foregoing figures, that the enforcement of the immigration laws during the last four years has been very much more efficient and beneficial than at any time prior thereto. The number of immigrants debarred from landing, as above indicated, increased absolutely and relatively, and with them increased the number of the most efficient of the anti-immigration agents, *i. e.* those who endeavored to come here in violation of the law, but were detected through the vigilance of the immigration authorities, and compelled to return to their native countries, there to spread the story of the difficulty experienced in meeting or getting around the strict immigration laws of the United States and their rigid enforcement.

As to the number of those who have been refused tickets by the steamship companies, or who have been deterred even from risking their money in the purchase of passage, it is hardly possible to estimate accurately the amount in full; however, the number has unquestionably reached hundreds of thousands during the last few years. On the other hand, as the number of those becoming public charges within one year after the time of landing and who were returned at the expense of the steamship companies, under the law, became so small, very few persons likely to become public charges could have evaded the inspection of government officials. To explain the possibility of such results it is necessary to give an outline of the methods of our present inspection, though I am convinced that no mere explanation could be so satisfactory as a visit to that unique

institution at Ellis Island, the immigrant station of the port of New York. I do not hesitate to state that it is absolutely impossible to get an intelligent idea of the letter and spirit of the present law, with its efficient enforcement, without such a personal observation.

The fundamental principle of our present immigration laws consists in placing the full financial responsibility for all undesirable immigration directly on the steamship companies. They are obliged to conduct a personal examination through their agents, of all intending immigrants, not only as to the general qualifications of age, sex, married or single, calling or occupation, nationality, last residence, final destination, but also as to the ability to read or write, whether such immigrant has a through ticket to the point of final destination, whether he has paid his own passage or whether it has been paid by another person or persons, or by any corporation, society, municipality or government; whether in possession of money, and if so, whether upwards of thirty dollars, and how much, if thirty dollars or less; whether going to join a relative, and if so, what relative, his name and address; whether ever before in the United States, and if so, when and where; whether ever in prison or almshouse, or supported by charity; whether a polygamist; whether under contract, express or implied, to perform labor in the United States; and finally as to the immigrant's condition of health, mentally and physically; and whether deformed or crippled, and if so, from what cause. The steamship companies are obliged to have complete ships' manifests, containing replies to each of these twenty questions, and sworn to by the master of the ship and the ship's surgeon, in the presence of a United States Consul, before embarkation. By a simple arrangement of dividing all passengers of a single ship into groups of thirty or less, and of providing each immigrant with a ticket, containing the numbers of the sheet and of his own entry on the same, for the purpose of identification, it is made possible to bring

each immigrant in turn before an inspector who has the sworn statements of the steamship company in reference to the immigrant before him, and is thus able to intelligently control the matter by his own re-examination. As soon as any steam or sailing vessels reach the Quarantine Station of any port in the United States, such vessel is boarded by immigrant officials, at the same time the customs officers reach her; and while the last named busy themselves in seeking to discover violations of law in the importation of merchandise, the officials of the immigration bureau inspect the ship as to her arrangements for immigrants, especially in the steerage, and conduct a general inspection of cabin passengers, because it has been found by practical experience that no small proportion of undesirable aliens come as other than steerage passengers. While this inspection is going on, the proud ship proceeds on her way through our most wonderful and beautiful Bay, which extends in all its grandeur between Staten Island, New Jersey, New York and Brooklyn; she passes the imposing Statue of Liberty and immediately afterward the immigration station at Ellis Island, which, though just under the eyes of this Statue of Liberty, for the proper protection of the country, has unfortunately to be surrounded and guarded in such a manner as more to resemble a prison than an institution of a free and enlightened country. When the ship reaches her dock, all citizens of the United States, even though coming in the steerage, are discharged by the proper immigration officials, upon the production of sufficient proof of their citizenship; while all other steerage passengers are brought in special boats provided for the purpose to Ellis Island for further inspection, according to law. Here, on the large main floor of the building erected by the government for this purpose, they pass before the critical and scrutinizing eyes of the matrons and the officers of the medical staff, who examine their physical condition. After this they must be further examined as to their

eligibility to land, by inspection officers who stand at the heads of the various aisles prepared for the purpose. It is the duty of every inspector, and to this I would call especial attention, to detain for a special inquiry every person who may not appear to him to be clearly and beyond doubt entitled to admission; and all such special inquiries are conducted by not less than four officials, acting in the capacity of judge and jury; and no immigrant is permitted admission by said board except after a favorable decision made by at least three of the inspectors sitting in such judicial capacity. It depends entirely upon the character of the immigrants, as to how large a proportion of the passengers of any incoming ship has to be detained for such special inquiry. We have had English, or German, or Scandinavian ships where 5 per cent or less did not appear to be clearly and beyond doubt entitled to admission, and where, after a special inquiry, perhaps not one of the detained immigrants had to be finally returned as undesirable through their exclusion by law; and we not infrequently have ships from Italian ports where 50 per cent and more have been detained for special inquiry, resulting in the final debarring from landing of some 20 per cent of such number. The simple fact that 24,000 cases in 1894-95 and fully 40,539 in 1895-96 (43,645 in the calendar year 1896) were brought before our Boards of Special Inquiry, speaks volumes not only for the amount of work to be performed under the present law on Ellis Island but also for the painstaking care exercised in the winnowing process.

Any immigrant who is held or sentenced to be returned is permitted to consult with counsel and friends, under proper restrictions, and to file with the commissioner an appeal from the excluding decision of the board; while in cases of special merit even immigrants who may not be eligible *per se* to admission are permitted to land if the authorization to accept a real estate bond to the amount of \$500 in each case,

conditioned that the immigrant will not become a public charge, is given by the Secretary of the Treasury.

During the entire examination, which sometimes consumes a number of weeks, the detained immigrants are properly housed and fed at the expense of the steamship company bringing them here, and, if ailing, are received in the hospital and treated, without expense to themselves, but at the cost of the steamship company. The company has also to stand the expense of returning all immigrants not permitted to land. From these facts it is obvious that the steamship companies in their own interest, will be and are very careful before issuing tickets to such persons, and that they will and do necessarily exercise especial care before issuing tickets to those whose examination alone, not to speak of the return, results in an expense which in many cases is larger than the price of the ticket. As the steamship companies hold their agents who have sold such tickets for them, responsible for the outlay in each case, it naturally follows that the agents themselves exercise greater vigilance in the conduct of their business. Still another safeguard has been provided for the protection of our country in the law a section of which requires the return of all aliens at the expense of the steamship company who come into the United States in violation of law, and that any alien who becomes a public charge within one year after his arrival in the United States, from causes existing prior to his landing therein, shall be deemed to have come in violation of law and be returned. In this manner the responsibility of the steamship companies is practically extended over one year after the landing of immigrants. However, when on proper examination it is found that any immigrant has become a public charge within one year from the date of arrival, from causes not existing prior thereto, and that he has been permanently incapacitated from earning a livelihood, he shall be returned at the expense of the Immigrant Fund, which also bears the expense for the care and

maintenance of any immigrant suffering from a disease of temporary character until the expiration of one year from the date of landing. The complaint formerly prevalent, that our almshouses, insane asylums and hospitals were overcrowded with newly arrived immigrants, will, therefore, be found to be no longer well founded. If, however, such public charges do exist, it is solely through negligence on the part of municipal or state authorities, who have failed to avail themselves of the opportunities given by law, and invariably most willingly rendered by the immigration authorities.

While I have hitherto endeavored to show that there is a rigid inspection of all immigrants going on under the new laws, and that therefore complaints which are based upon former methods and their results can no longer justly be made at this time, I do not wish it to be understood that our present laws or their enforcement are perfect or beyond improvement.

On the thirteenth of June, 1894, the Secretary of the Treasury appointed a commission consisting of three practical immigration experts to investigate and report among other points what changes, if any, in the rules and regulations now in force were necessary in order to secure a more efficient execution of existing laws relating to immigration; and this commission, of which I had the honor to be a member, recommended in its report, submitted in October, 1895, no less than twenty-nine practical amendments to the existing laws and regulations; but this same commission was and is unanimous in the opinion that the fundamental principle of the present law should be upheld and that the present laws, with certain practical amendments, under proper execution, are quite sufficient to protect this country against a too heavy or undesirable immigration. The Immigration Investigating Commission, for reasons sufficiently explained above, does not believe in the necessity of heroic measures at this time.

We do not underestimate the dangers coming from an unrestricted immigration, but we do believe, and are sincere in that belief, that there is not, and has not been for the last four years, any unrestricted immigration. Our eyes are not closed to the evils which a large foreign population, concentrated to a great measure in our larger cities, and unfortunately in many states invested with the full power of citizenship, may bring to our political institutions, nor do we overlook the fact that the competition of less civilized workmen, who have never been used to a higher standard of life, is liable in turn to lower our standard of wages. But we do believe that any and all of these dangers and evils can be more successfully overcome and avoided than by introducing such methods of restriction as are likely to exclude the most desirable immigrant, while not helping us in reference to the many millions who have already come here under the unrestricted condition of former years.

Referring especially to the evil political influence which an ignorant foreign-born population is likely to exert in our public affairs, I am personally of the opinion that the dangers from that source are very much exaggerated in a country where suffrage is distributed with so little discrimination that millions of half-savage negroes enjoy the right of suffrage, while our intelligent and highly cultured women are precluded from availing themselves of its privilege. But suppose the ignorant Pole or Italian is a more dangerous citizen than the ignorant negro, then there is nothing easier than to apply the severest test to the privilege of American citizenship, granting naturalization only to the enlightened and completely assimilated foreigner. Let us not forget that immigration is and will be first of all an essentially economic question, while naturalization is a purely political one. What in fact ought to be no more than hostility to the ready naturalization permitted in many states, turns out, by an inexcusable confusion of ideas, to be a general hostility to immigration.

A number of those interested in the subject have hoped to solve the immigration problem through the introduction of a monetary test; however, this method cannot stand any close scrutiny. The mere exhibition to the inspection officer of \$200 or \$1000 at the time of landing is not a sufficient guarantee that a person will not become a public charge within a short time, even if this money were not borrowed for the very purpose of exhibition to such inspection officer. It will be readily conceded that a young man with two dollars in his pocket, two good strong arms and an earnest intention of engaging in any kind of available work will, as a rule, find his way in this country; while a widow, hampered with a number of small children and without friends, could never convince me, even by showing as much as \$5000, that she might not within a given time become a public charge. A bankrupt merchant, unused to work, and coming over here perhaps with many hundreds of dollars, will almost invariably have to spend his last cent before finding any opportunity of earning a livelihood.

Another solution which has been proposed and much agitated, is the plan of adopting Consular certification, but, in the words of Senator Lodge, "This plan is impracticable; the necessary machinery for it could not be provided and it would lead to many serious questions with foreign governments and never be properly and justly enforced." According to the Senator's declaration, the opinion of the committee of which he was chairman is shared by all expert judges who have given careful attention to the question.

Another method, involving a higher capitation tax, is properly designated by the Senate Committee's report as a severe but somewhat discriminating method for which the country is not yet prepared.

The Immigration Restriction League has finally decided, I may say after consultation with the officials on Ellis Island, to forego all those plans which were favored in

former times and to adopt as their only demand the introduction of an educational test. I am in favor of a moderate educational test for the protection of American civilization and of the American standard of life. Illiteracy is invariably coupled with a low standard of living which inevitably leads to a lowering of wages. Under the present condition of education in Continental Europe, those nationalities which are considered as sending the most desirable immigrants to the United States, such as the Germans, English and Scandinavians, are those which show the smallest percentage of illiteracy; while the southern part of Europe and the eastern part, which show a low grade of education, furnish at the same time the least desirable immigrants. However, with the progress of compulsory education in Europe, and especially, strange as it may sound, with the progress of compulsory military service, illiteracy is rapidly waning in all Europe, and any literary educational test will, within twenty years or less, be entirely superfluous as far as Continental Europe is concerned. In the meantime it would certainly appear extremely unjust to apply such tests to persons under sixteen years of age or to females, or in any other way that might lead to a separation of families, or to an aggravation of our serious and vexed servant-girl question. With these limitations, I believe in the introduction of a limited and practical educational test, as a natural and proper addition to the present immigration laws, to be made without otherwise radically changing their fundamental character; and I may add that since October 1, 1896, I have practically introduced this test on Ellis Island without being forced by law. One of the chief reasons for the introduction of this literary test at the station under my charge was shown by my practical experiences during an official trip to Europe last summer, where I observed that the statistics in reference to the illiteracy of immigrants are, if possible, even less reliable than I have found general immigration statistics of former years.

That there is a tremendous discrepancy between the statistics as to immigrants arriving within the last quarter of a century and the results of the three United States censuses taken within the same time, is a fact generally recognized. Our Bureau of Statistics has of course been obliged to rely on information gathered in the most careless and reckless manner by so-called officials of state agencies. We are confronted with figures as to age, occupation, destination, literacy and money in the possession of immigrants which I can positively assert, from researches personally made, were, up to the enforcement of the law of 1893, based almost entirely upon guess work. Not only scholars and scientists but also legislators have been naturally misled by such erroneous premises and alleged facts to equally erroneous conclusions. Even since the enforcement of the Act of 1893, which for the first time legally required an examination and sworn statements on these points, it has been found a most difficult task, requiring more skilled material in expert statisticians than public service in the United States usually furnishes, to secure reliable statistics. Further, in reference to illiteracy, I have found by practical experience that it is positively necessary to demand some practical test in order to arrive at reliable and definite figures. The results of an actual test on Ellis Island made during the last six months shows a marked divergence from figures heretofore promulgated:

From		Per cent.
Bohemia	4.7 against	11.45
Galicia	39. "	60.37
Other Austria	22. "	36.38
Hungary	29. "	46.51
France	3.9 "	4.88
Germany	1.6 "	2.96
Greece	13. "	26.21
Italy	39. "	54.59
Russia	31. "	41.14
Poland	36. "	47.78
Turkey in Europe	8.8 "	31.43

This inaccuracy in the statistics formerly furnished as to immigration is, in my opinion, one of the strongest arguments against the advisability of any heroic change in our present immigration laws which, for the first time in our history, make it possible for us to secure reliable statistics, that may be used as safe bases for scientific and legislative conclusions.

But the introduction of such an educational test cannot solve the immigration problem, the very essence of which it fails to touch.

"The immigration question," I quote from the commission's report, before referred to, "is pre-eminently a national one; this nation consists neither of a few large cities, which, as in all the other countries furnish only limited employment to a dense population, nor of the few states whose farms are deserted and whose manufacturing cities are overcrowded with idlers. Immigration concerns the West not less than the East, and the South as well as the North, and the only line of policy which can be consistently recommended is one which will benefit the whole country most and harm each part of it the least.

"No one can undertake to deny that an entire closing of our ports to immigrants would inevitably result in untold injury to, if not the very annihilation of, our largest transportation and manufacturing enterprises; in a disastrous stoppage of the development of great sections of the country; and in a famine of servants and menial laborers.

"There are some comparatively small densely populated sections to be sure where no immigrants or only the most highly qualified are desired; but in the larger part of this country those immigrants are still needed who are only fitted for unskilled manual labor. This is particularly true of the vast undeveloped agricultural and lumber areas of the Northwest, South and Southwest.

"At present immigrants herd together in the densely populated centres. Nearly half of the steerage arrivals at

the port of New York, for example, give their destination to the immigrant inspectors as New York City, because they know of no other place to go. That a considerable proportion of them eventually drift elsewhere, for better or worse, is evident from the figures of the census; but quite too large a proportion remain to swell the ranks of the paupers or depreciate the labor market. Only a small percentage get where they really ought to be—that is, into the work for which they are peculiarly needed. Existing conditions, in a word, exhibit a clear case of maladjustment, and the maladjustment is principally due to the lack of reliable knowledge on the part of the immigrants and their complete inability to obtain it.

“Notwithstanding the rapid mail and cable connections and the enormous transatlantic trade, the geography, topography, resources and industrial and social conditions of the different sections of the United States are practically unknown in Europe. The only information accessible to an intending immigrant is contained in the letters received by himself or his neighbors, or in the circulars of speculators and steamship and railway companies. He leaves home finally with the expectation of abundant opportunities of bettering his condition and with an eager determination to avail himself of them, but without any precise knowledge of where or how he is to do it. Under the circumstances it would be strange indeed if glib-tongued agents did not sometimes, in spite of all the vigilance of the federal authorities, induce him to invest his funds in worthless lands and played-out enterprises, or to let his labor to an unscrupulous padrone.”

Hic Rhodus hic salta, here is to be found the point where the real solution of the problem follows as a natural sequence: Let each immigrant receive the proper information, enlightenment and guidance, so that he may readily find the place where he can work with best advantage to himself as well as to his adopted country.

Give him opportunity and the knowledge to find the proper labor market, where his services are actually needed; not in competition with American labor but for the building up of all sections of this great country and of all its industries; let the farmer or fruit-grower be shown to those sections of the country where his experience and personal qualifications will secure him the largest returns, and you will very seldom hear any objection to, or outcry against, immigration. *Exclude all undesirable, and at the same time see that the most desirable immigrants are properly distributed over the country*, and there will no longer be any immigration problem.

Do not turn over the distribution of the incoming to irresponsible speculators or padrones, but place the distribution of settlers as well as of laborers under the responsible management of a National Land and Labor Clearing House, in close connection with, and under full regulation by the authorities charged with the enforcement of the immigration law. This great National Land and Labor Clearing House is the instrumentality by which the whole immigration problem can be removed for all time, by which all possible dangers from immigration can be prevented, and this nation be given all the benefits in the future which it has unquestionably derived from immigration in the past.

JOSEPH H. SENNER.

Ellis Island, New York Harbor.

THE GREATER NEW YORK CHARTER.

THE FORMATION OF THE CHARTER.

The most important local statute passed within recent years is the charter of the Greater New York, which will take effect on the first of January, 1898. It creates a municipality so large as to present a new factor in the political institutions of the country. For the first time, we have to deal with the government of a great metropolitan city with a population of over three millions. This fact gives to the charter an importance far beyond that of the ordinary municipal charter. It is an experiment which is of interest beyond the limits of New York State. Its success or failure will strongly influence the development of institutions in other parts of the country. The method followed in the formation of the charter is thus a matter of national importance. Not concerning ourselves now with the merits of the principles of municipal government adopted in the charter, let us examine the instrument as a piece of statute-making. Viewed in this light, the work of the commission and the passage of the charter by the state legislature constitute a significant episode in the history of legislation.

The scientific formulation of statutes is a subject which has received but little attention in the United States. The prevailing belief seems to be that the most superficial legal training is all that is required. Those who are more fully acquainted with the subject agree that the formulation of statutes is essentially expert work, and that adequate preparation for it involves long special training. It is of the utmost importance to the community that this work should be well done. The daily life of every member of a civilized community is carried on in conformity to general rules of conduct, embodied in statute law. Every important advance

in science, as well as every marked change in popular sentiment in matters of religion or of morals, gives rise to a new body of laws designed to meet the new conditions. No elaborate argument is needed to prove the necessity of giving and preserving to the large and constantly changing body of statute law the greatest possible coherence, clearness, brevity, and stability. In spite of this fact, our legislatures are wont to pass new laws and to change old laws with a freedom appalling to one who studies the result. The hasty enactment of ill-digested statutes produces great uncertainty in the law, and overburdens the courts with questions which would not arise, were all laws passed with due regard for laws already existing and for scientific arrangement and expression. The recklessness with which statutes are passed is shown by the mere volume of the session laws in the separate states of the Union. The laws passed by the legislature of the State of New York in 1895, cover about 2100 printed pages; and those passed in 1896, about 2600 pages. More than half of these laws, in bulk, are of a special or local character, many of them having been devised to meet some merely temporary or personal need or desire. Only very few were framed after adequate study of the great mass of existing laws upon the subjects treated of. They were drawn by hundreds of men, without regard to any general scheme either as to substance or form. After years of such law-making a state finds its statutes in a condition of almost intolerable chaos. In many cases a remedy is then sought in codification; but codes and revisions are no sooner enacted than they become the subject of innumerable amendments, proposed for the most part with a desire to serve some private end rather than the public welfare.

A result of this method of legislating is seen in the generally accepted theory that if a proposed law is at all desirable, it ought to be passed without delay, notwithstanding probable defects. Future legislatures, it is said, will be

able to perfect the law by amendments, or to repeal it, if it is found unsatisfactory in operation. But, in a certain sense, each successive form of a law is imperishable. The fact that it has been upon the statute books must be learned and reckoned with for all time by the lawyer, the courts, the student, and the historian. The meaning of present law must often be sought in the light of former statutes upon the same subject, and no such former statute may be disregarded by one who seeks to learn precisely what the present law is. Every change in the law is, therefore, an evil. It may be necessary or so desirable that none will oppose it, but, nevertheless, so far as it presents new matter to be interpreted and construed, it is an evil. It follows that good affirmative reason should be demanded for the enactment of any new law. It should be challenged and scrutinized, and the burden of proving that it ought to be passed should be placed upon its advocates.

Applying these general principles to the Greater New York Charter, viewed as a piece of statute-making, we may lay down the following general rules:

1. In the drafting of a statute, one of the first and fundamental processes is to define the terms used, in such a way that their meaning shall be free from doubt and ambiguity. Any particular combination of words should be used throughout a statute with precisely the same meaning, and any difference in expression should indicate a difference in meaning.

2. Beauty of style, harmony of phrase, and elegance of diction have not in themselves any value in a statute. The single effort in the use of language should be to make the meaning clear.

3. Several single simple propositions are clearer than a combination of the propositions in a complex proposition. Therefore, as far as possible, propositions should be stated in separate short sentences.

4. Every effort should be made to reduce to the shortest possible form the provisions to be embodied in the statute.

The volume of laws is growing in this country with such alarming rapidity that brevity is a virtue to be especially sought in the work of statute-making.

5. The precise meaning of every word should be weighed, and no word which is not necessary to the meaning, or which does not have a distinct function in the presentation of the idea, should be used.

6. Specific enumeration of a number of cases in a class, coupled with a general provision of similar import covering all the cases in the class, is not merely unnecessary; it increases the length of the statute, and gives rise to doubt and confusion by suggesting that the cases enumerated are to be treated differently from those not enumerated. Even if all possible cases are included in the several provisions, brevity is greatly promoted by the use of a general provision in place of a number of similar specific provisions.

7. Provisions which are intended to embody affirmative legislation, should be expressed affirmatively, and not in such a way as to make it necessary to evolve the affirmative provision by inference.

8. The statute should not provide for the performance of a duty without making it clear who is charged with the duty.

It is not necessary to present the numerous details of the charter passed by the New York Legislature which violate these principles, and show that the charter fails to meet the simplest requirements of a scientifically constructed statute.

Careful study of both the preliminary draft which was published by the commission in December, 1896, and the final draft, which was published and sent to the legislature in the latter part of February, 1897, lead to the conclusion that the charter presents in a striking manner the evils of our American methods of treating the difficult and important work of statute-making. Other countries may spend much time and money in elaborate inquiries and deep research as steps toward the enactment of important laws. American enterprise and quickness will not brook such old-fashioned

methods. When we want a law, we want it now; we shall want other laws next year. The growth of this tendency is well illustrated by the contrast between the way in which the new charter was constructed and the way in which "The Consolidation Act" was evolved.

On the tenth of June, 1879, the legislature passed a law providing for the compilation and revision of "all special and local laws affecting public interests in the city of New York." The work was to be done by a commission of three, consisting of the corporation counsel of the city of New York, and two others to be selected by him. The corporation counsel, Mr. William C. Whitney, named as the additional commissioners Messrs. George Bliss and Peter B. Olney, and the commission immediately proceeded with its work. The completed compilation was reported to the legislature in 1880. It was contained in two printed volumes of 2156 pages, in which the various laws were arranged in chronological order under general headings, such as "Fire Department," "Taxes and Assessments." At the head of each page and upon the margin were notes indicating the substance of the text. The compilation was accompanied by a chronological list of all statutes included, with references to the pages upon which the statutes were printed. Another table was given, with this heading "Repealed and Superseded Laws, showing the acts and portions of acts coming within the scope of this compilation which are treated as repealed or superseded, and some of the acts by which they are regarded as so repealed or superseded." This table also was arranged chronologically. In addition to the text, the commission presented an index of 170 pages.

The legislature of 1880, perceiving that this compilation led naturally to a further clarification of the laws relating to the city of New York, continued the commission with the duty of making a revision and codification of all such laws. The preliminary form of this revision was submitted to the legislature in 1881. The report which accompanied the draft

stated that the commissioners had sought advice and suggestions from all possible sources, but that more time was needed for perfecting the work, and that, therefore, they did not ask that the legislature should enact the preliminary draft. At length, in 1882, the commission reported the final form of the revision, which was enacted as Chapter 410 of the laws of 1882, under the title, "The Consolidation Act."

Each of the two drafts of the Consolidation Act as reported to the legislature contained full citations of the sources of all the parts, and was accompanied with a full and detailed index.

The contrast between the careful and deliberate work upon the Consolidation Act and the hasty preparation of the Greater New York Charter marks the advance made in recent years in our capacity to formulate the most difficult and voluminous legislation within a time which formerly would have been considered quite inadequate. The Consolidation Act was only a collection and a re-arrangement of laws actually in existence. The commission had only to determine what those laws were. The charter is in part a re-enactment of existing laws; but in many most important particulars, it provides a new form of government. The statement made by the chairman of the commission that the people of the present city of New York would find that under the new charter they were living practically under the same laws as now prevail, requires qualifications in many particulars. If, however, the charter is to be regarded as a mere compilation, it is obviously far inferior to the scientific compilation resulting from the three years of labor by the commissioners first appointed in 1879.

Probably never before was an attempt made to formulate within so short a time a piece of legislation so difficult and complicated as this charter. From the time of the passing of the law creating the commission the opinion has been freely expressed by men conversant with legislation relating to municipal government that within the time allowed, no

body of men could do the work with thoroughness at all commensurate with the importance of the subject. The commission had about eight months, but its continuous work did not extend over much more than half of that time. The commission was appointed on the ninth of June, 1896, under a law requiring it to make a final report by the first of February, 1897. In the early summer it met a few times, and adopted certain general propositions, but no comprehensive plan or framework was formulated. During the summer one member of the commission prepared with great industry the draft of a charter. This was reported to the commission's committee on draft on the twenty-first of September. After that date the committee met from time to time, and at length, on the ninth of December, reported to the commission a complete draft essentially different from the draft made during the summer.

The first eight chapters of this draft were made public by the commission on the twenty-fourth of December, with the announcement that public hearings would begin on the second of January, and would continue for two weeks. During these two weeks additional chapters were given out from time to time, as they were completed; but two or three important chapters were not made public until after the hearings, and the supplemental bills were given out only when the final form of the charter was sent to the legislature and published. Toward the end of its term the commission perceived that it could not complete the draft without much assistance. Accordingly, several lawyers were employed to draw some of the chapters, and some of these lawyers were at work while the public hearings were in progress. After the hearings, the commission found that it would be unable to report the final draft by the first of February, and an extension of time until the twentieth of February was secured from the legislature.

Undoubtedly the commission consulted a number of people, but it may be said that the work was practically carried on

in secret, the public having no information as to its progress, or as to the process by which the commission was arriving at its conclusions upon the many points of public interest involved. Inspection of the dates given above will show that it was impossible for those who were interested to prepare themselves to discuss the draft intelligently at the hearings. It could only be properly considered as a whole and after careful examination. But insufficient time was given for the examination even of the chapters published on the twenty-fourth of December, and the charter as a whole was not before the public until after the termination of the hearings. It was not the policy of the commission to distribute copies of the draft freely, and only a comparatively small number of copies were printed. The final draft, did not become accessible to the public generally until the latter part of February, when it was published by one of the Brooklyn daily newspapers.

Practically without further deliberation, the legislature has now enacted into law this complicated bill of over seven hundred pages, which had been before the public but a few weeks, and the full purport of which is probably not yet understood by any living man. It was reported without one citation of the hundreds of laws which would be amended, repealed, or modified by its passage, and without an index. Its provisions are tantamount to an express statement by the commissioners that they do not know what the existing law is, and that it must be left to the courts and to time to reconcile the charter with other laws affecting the parts of the new city. At the final hearing before the commission on the sixteenth of January, General Benjamin F. Tracy, sitting as chairman of the commission, said that a popular misconception as to the nature of the charter seemed to prevail, that it was not a constitution, but an ordinary statute, which could be amended freely, and that future legislatures could pass such laws as would remedy any defects which might develop in the charter

after it should be enacted. This statement by the chairman of the commission seems to amount to a condemnation of the charter. The first duty of commissioners appointed to deal with a mass of laws such as now applies to the cities of New York and Brooklyn, is to endeavor to remedy the evils resulting from the great confusion into which those laws have fallen, and to present their work in a form which will promise some degree of stability. This invitation to continue the mischievous tinkering of local laws indicates that the legislature of 1898 will continue the old process of introducing confusion through amendment upon amendment.

Passing the grave questions of policy presented by the charter, and its innumerable defects in detail which might have been remedied by adequate revision, we may find in the sections dealing expressly with the enormous and confused body of existing laws relating to those political divisions of the state which are to be consolidated, ample warrant for the adverse conclusions indicated above. These features of the charter may be divided into two classes,—the provisions which re-enact existing laws, and those which repeal existing laws.

Throughout the charter are scattered provisions which declare in general terms that large classes of existing laws are to continue in force so far as they are "not inconsistent with the provisions" of the charter. The re-enacting sections cover fifteen or twenty pages in all. They appear, for the most part, to have been drawn without reference to one another, and present great diversity of form. Some of these sections are embraced in single tortuous sentences of about three hundred words.

It is evident, therefore, that the 700 pages of the charter do not truly represent the size of the instrument for the government of the Greater New York. The hundreds of pages of laws re-enacted must be read as part of the charter, with the result that the instrument would be certainly not

less than two thousand pages in extent. What parts of this great body of scattered session laws remain in force because they are not inconsistent with the charter, and what parts are repealed because they are inconsistent with it, each citizen will be compelled to determine for himself. Yet the charter itself contains a section which indicates a ready method of removing the difficulty presented by these re-enacting sections. Section 647, relating to the department of buildings, provides that all existing laws upon the subject of buildings within the city are to continue in force so far as they are consistent with the charter; that the municipal assembly may employ experts to prepare a code of ordinances relating to buildings; and that the existing laws are repealed by the charter, the repeal not to take effect until "such building code shall be established by the municipal assembly."

It is true that the immediate effect of this section will be to leave the law as to the building department in the same state of confusion as that which will prevail in relation to other departments; but the section provides a certain and scientific remedy for the evil, and contemplates the reduction to a simple, clear form, of all the law concerning the department, within a reasonable time. The method pursued in this section is not in contravention of the principle that a legislative body cannot delegate its law-making power. This point was settled by the United States Supreme Court in the recent decision holding that it was constitutional for Congress to pass a law which would take effect only in the event of the arising of a certain state of facts, the President to determine when the conditions upon which the law was to become operative had been fulfilled.

In addition to the re-enacting sections relating to the separate departments, the charter contains the following general re-enacting section:

"Sec. 1610. All the provisions of all acts of the Legislature of the State of New York, including said Consolidation Act of 1882, of a

general and permanent character, relating to the corporation heretofore known as the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of New York, in force at the time this act goes into effect, which are consistent with this act and its purposes, and which are not revised, and included in or the subject-matter thereof covered by this act, are hereby extended to the city of New York as herein constituted, so far as they are consistent with this act, and are not in their nature locally inapplicable to other portions of the city than the corporation heretofore known as the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of New York, and the provisions of law thus extended to the city of New York as herein constituted shall apply to said city throughout its whole extent, anything to the contrary notwithstanding contained in the charter of any of the municipal or public corporations or laws relating thereto, which are by this act united and consolidated with the corporation heretofore known as the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of New York."

In connection with the re-enacting provisions, which are in effect also repealing provisions, must be read the following general repealing sections:

"Sec. 1608. The act of the Legislature of the State of New York, passed July 1, 1882, known as the New York City Consolidation Act of 1882, and acts amendatory thereof, and supplementary thereto, and other acts of the Legislature of the State of New York now in force relating to or affecting the local government of the city of New York, are hereby repealed so far as any provisions thereof are inconsistent with the provisions of this act, or so far as the subject-matter thereof is revised or included in this act, and no further. So far as the provisions of this act are the same in terms or in substance and effect as the provisions of the said Consolidation Act, or of other acts of the legislature now in force relating to or affecting the municipal and public corporations, or any of them herein united and consolidated, this act is intended to be not a new enactment but a continuation of the said Consolidation Act of 1882, and said other acts and is intended to apply the provisions thereof, as herein modified to the city of New York as herein constituted, and this act shall accordingly be so construed and applied.

"Sec. 1609. The mere omission from this act of any previous acts or of any of the provisions thereof, including said Consolidation Act of 1882, relating to or affecting the municipal and public corporations or any of them which are herein united and consolidated shall not be held to be a repeal thereof."

The effect of these sections, with the difficulties of construction which they present, will be to involve the law relating to the city in inextricable confusion, and to render it quite impossible for any authority but the court of appeals of the state to determine the law with any degree of certainty.

Careful inspection of sections 1608 and 1610, will show that a citizen seeking to inform himself as to the law upon any particular point with which the charter deals, will have to answer the following questions:

1. What laws upon this subject, "relating to or affecting the local government of the city of New York," were in force at the time of the passage of the charter?
2. How far are such laws "inconsistent with the provisions" of the charter?
3. How far is the subject-matter of such laws revised in the charter?
4. How far is the subject-matter of such laws included in the charter?
5. How far are the provisions of the charter on the point under consideration the same in terms, or in substance, or in effect, as the provisions of the Consolidation Act?
6. Is the subject-matter under consideration covered by the charter?
7. If not covered by the charter, is it covered by the Consolidation Act?

Ingenuity could readily construct other questions under these sections. The questions formulated above lie upon the surface, and will arise daily, to the confusion of the citizen, the public officer, and the courts. It will be observed that these questions present precisely the same difficulties in construction as have demanded for their settlement in times past the best consideration of our highest courts.

Both the legislature and the governor have seen fit to disregard the emphatic points made against the deliberate wrong involved in the adoption of a fundamental law for the great new community open to these grave objections.

The view that it was more important to have Greater New York as soon as possible, rather than bring the city into being under conditions as favorable as time and deliberation could make them, has prevailed. To many it seemed a much smaller evil to continue the present local governments for two or three years, with all their defects, than to plunge an immense new municipality into the legal chaos which, as experience plainly teaches, may be expected to follow the enactment of the charter in its present form.

JAMES W. PRYOR.

New York City.

OVER-NUTRITION AND ITS SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES.

Observing the fact that pleasure usually arises in connection with objects that are beneficial to the organism and pain in connection with those that are harmful to it, biologists have taken it for granted that pleasure and pain, as states of consciousness, are the direct resultants of the objective stimuli with which they are associated. In the evolutionary process it is held that those organisms survive whose nervous systems react pleasurably when brought into contact with utilities, while those which do not so react are eliminated. Aside from the fact that this view furnishes no explanation of the origin of pleasure and pain, it seems to me that it does not properly account for the rôle they play in the evolutionary process. Pleasure is useful and pain detrimental, not because they reveal the qualities of objects, but because they create mental states advantageous or disadvantageous to the organism.

According to popular view the mind is a unit and controls the body through its will. In complex organisms however, even if the existence of a will be admitted, it does not exercise a direct control over the various organs. Many of them have their own nervous centres and motor forces. The great problem in the development of higher organisms, therefore, is to unify these discordant tendencies and to make the motor forces of some one centre so dominant that they control and direct all the others. This psychic control determines the power which organisms have to co-ordinate their movements for definite ends. I use this phrase, psychic control, to avoid the difficulties which discussions of the will involve. The theory of a will is an attempt to account for the facts which psychic control reveals.

But what creates this psychic control through which unity of action in complex organisms is secured? My answer to this question is that pleasure is the agent through which a subordination of many motor centres to some one centre is secured. I will therefore present a simple hypothesis to explain the way in which pleasure tends to increase the co-ordination of movements and thus to secure a better adjustment of an organism to its environment.

If an organism enters an improved environment or increases its power to assimilate food, additional motor energy is generated that must find an outlet. If this organism is already well fed, more motor energy will be generated than can be carried over the motor nerves to the muscles. Over-nutrition thus creates a plethora of nervous energy which must be used up in some way. Under normal conditions each motor current passes to some muscle and moves the body. But if the nerve reaching this muscle is through bifurcation connected with two motor centres, each of which has a store of surplus energy, a conflict will arise between the impulses coming from them. Both currents cannot pass along the single portion of the nerve at the same time. If these currents are of nearly equal strength an alternating redundant activity results in the nerves which bring the currents from the two centres to the point of juncture. All of the two currents can not be carried from this point to the muscle. The obstructed part of the one current forces back the other current and then a reaction takes place and the second current forces the first current back towards the place where it originated. An alternating discharge and recoil take place. That part of the two currents not carried to the muscle is in consequence employed in the continuation of this process. A part of each current is lost in friction without producing any bodily motion. Surplus motor currents are thus put to a use for which they were not primarily designed. This new expenditure of energy I regard as the cause of pleasure.

Over-nutrition, surplus energy, rhythmic or alternating motion, and pleasure are different steps in one series.

There are many facts which seem to verify this hypothesis. Vivid pleasures tend to paralyze or charm the person enjoying them by inhibiting the motor forces or diverting them from their normal channels. In the case of laughter a sudden transition of thought checks the flow of a motor current along its expected channel and creates a rhythmic motion in its passage along some new channel. When we feel energetic and have a superabundance of vital force all activity is pleasurable. So much motor force is generated that it cannot pass along its accustomed routes to the muscles. The accumulated energy seeks new outlets along other nerves, causing in this way the rhythmic reactions which create the feeling of pleasure.

There are thus two tendencies at work in the motor centres, the one to create pleasure, and the other to create activity. The centres which have no adequate outlets for the motor currents generated expend their energy in creating pleasure and exert but little influence on the movements of the body; while those centres having adequate outlets for their currents gradually acquire a control of bodily motions and in time determine the activity of the organism. In this way those parts of the body which assimilate more food than they need become static and lose their power to move the organism; while the other parts of the organism through this very change will become more active and grow in size. Pleasure centres are thus degenerate motor centres. At an earlier stage of development their power over bodily activity was perhaps as great as that of the present motor centres, but by generating more motor energy than can be conveyed to the muscles they are changed into pleasure centres and lose control over the body.

This degeneration of motor centres into pleasure centres is the cause of psychic control. Suppose that a low organism had four motor centres, A, B, C, D, having

equal power to determine the motions of the body. These centres would have different tendencies to produce pleasure. The best supported parts of the body would generate the most motor force. Here the outlet for the motor currents would be insufficient and hence rhythmic reactions causing pleasure would appear. If centre A were located in such a part it would degenerate into a pleasure centre and leave the control of the body to the other centres.

The same tendencies causing the centre A to degenerate into a pleasure centre would continue to operate, and in time a differentiation would take place in the remaining motor centres. If centre B now had a stronger tendency to create pleasure than bodily motions, it would also sink into a pleasure centre and leave the control of the organism to centres C and D. A further differentiation would reduce the centre C to a pleasure centre and leave the centre D in control of the organism.

The effective co-ordination of the motor centres in a higher organism is not the result of uniting the many motor centres of a lower organism under a new and higher centre. Centres A, B, C and D, do not for example become subordinated to centre E; the stronger influence of pleasure on centres A, B and C caused them to degenerate and leave centre D in control of the organism. Centre D controlled only a small part of the original organism but this part has developed until it is now the major part of the present organism. The present pleasure centres are remnants of its former rivals in the struggle for psychic control.

While the pleasure centres lose their power to move muscles they do not lose their influence over bodily activity. Their power is exerted by sending their currents to consciousness, instead of to the muscles; they create the desires and passions of the organism through the liberation of their stored-up energy. Whatever arouses their activity concentrates the attention upon their needs and thus compels the motor centres to carry out their commands. The

resulting desires and passions create a vivid impression in consciousness and arouse the motor centres needed to produce bodily motions. Pleasure not only increases psychic control but also creates the motives which control the mind; without its influence the development of the higher organisms would be impossible. From an economic standpoint the end of an organism is pleasure. From a biological standpoint, however, pleasure is a means of securing the subordination of the parts most susceptible to its influence. In this way psychic control becomes complete; the clear ideas of the mind determine the activity of the motor centres through the desires and passions they arouse.

It will add to the plausibility of my hypothesis if it can be shown that pain has a similar origin. Pain like pleasure is caused by the motor currents; it is the opposite of pleasure only in the sense that it destroys the psychic control which pleasure creates. It frees the lower centres from the control of the higher centres and causes them to act as if they were parts of a lower organism. The parts of a higher organism under severe pain move as though they had that independence which they do have in lower organisms. Each lower centre expends its energy in creating local motion instead of massing its motor force with that of other centres and thus producing well directed movements. The hand may grasp an object more firmly and quickly than if there were no pain, and the motion of the leg may be more energetic; but the two movements are not in harmony and produce no net advantage for the organism. In fact, these movements often injure the organism and may even destroy the part showing such aimless activity; the hand may grasp a knife and the leg may strike a hot body.

This destruction of psychic control is due to some derangement in the higher motor centres. The currents which should go to the lower motor centres are diverted into other channels. The only other route for these diverted

currents is over the sensory nerves. In this way the currents which should reach and control the lower motor centres find an outlet. For the time the sensory nerves are changed into motor nerves and are made to carry currents for which they are not fitted. The direction of the current in the sensory nerve is reversed and when the current arrives at the end of the nerve there is no fitting connection by which the current can be changed into muscular activity. It must break over the intervening obstacles as an electric current jumps over a break in the wire.

Pain, in my opinion, is due to this sudden transformation of sensory into motor nerves. In a rudimentary organism the sensory and motor nerves are similar and the direction of the nervous currents is almost a matter of chance. Any point on its surface can be easily moved and its position can be changed only by a multitude of slight spasmodic motions. A well co-ordinated movement is impossible since a motor current can pass to the surface over any of the nerves, thus producing many slight irregular motions instead of a few well-directed ones. In the higher animals, the motor nerves are distinct from the sensory nerves and it would be only on extraordinary occasions, or in diseased states, that the motor currents transform the sensory nerves back to their primitive condition, making them a means of creating motion at the surface instead of creating sensations at the centre of the nervous organization.

The belief that pains are due to the exit of motor currents over the sensory nerves is strengthened by the fact that activity relieves pain. It causes the motor currents to return to their normal channels and thus relieves the pressure on the sensory nerves. Groaning, crying, walking and other movements always reduce violent pains. Sorrow, depression and melancholy are relieved by any centrally excited activity. Mechanical activity caused by the lower centres will reduce pain, less than conscious activity. It is the motor currents of the higher centres that are diverted

to the sensory nerves. A new environment or a new form of exercise demanding conscious attention is, therefore, the best means of restoring the normal condition of the nerves.

That pains are due to the exit of motor currents over unaccustomed routes is also shown by the muscular activity which accompany them. These movements are not the conscious co-ordinated activity produced by motor currents from the higher centres passing to the muscles over the motor nerves. Pain distorts the body, produces irregular movements, and causes spasmodic contractions of the muscles. Motions are also produced in parts of the body not controlled by the motor nerves. In the higher organisms the motor nerves do not reach all parts of the body, and hence slight motions or tremors of wide distribution must be created by currents over the well distributed sensory nerves. The maximum of diffused disconnected activity is reached by each lower motor centre acting for itself, while the currents from the higher motor centres find an outlet over the sensory nerves. The whole nervous system is thus transformed into a motor mechanism and the organism reverts into a primitive condition, that is, a condition where there is no psychic control.

It may be that all nerves had in the beginning motor functions. The first nervous reactions were probably between the digestive and motor tissue. After the digestion and assimilation of food, surplus energy was generated which passed off through the motor nerves. The adjustment of such an organism to its environment is accidental; it has no power to protect itself from external evils. Nor can it know anything of this environment except through shocks so violent as to cause the whole organism to vibrate. With no definite routes over which these vibrations may be communicated, the weaker vibrations are not perceived or at least they are not differentiated from one another and accurate indications of outer objects are not given. Even in higher organisms these crude shocks are still

perceived and often made use of. A deaf man can often improve his hearing by holding in his teeth an object capable of propagating sound vibrations. Persons whose optic nerves are injured can still detect the presence of light. The X-rays show us how easily such vibrations pass through an organism. In similar ways many of the vibrations could affect an organism even if it had no sensory nerves. Rude shocks or the condition of the digestive tract could excite motor activity even if there were no developed sensory mechanism.

The nervous arc arises only after the motor nerves become so connected and differentiated as to create organs with definite functions. Their growth gives to certain motor nerves the control of bodily activity and thus deprives the weaker nerves and organs of their original function. The sensory nerves are these weakened, degenerate motor nerves put to a new use. No longer able to secure for themselves a part of the surplus motor energy, they become the means by which the vibration of outer objects are communicated to the nervous centres. Nervous tissue can carry these vibrations better than can the other tissue, and thus reversed currents are created which arouse the motor centres and excite them to activity. In this way a nervous arc is formed and the organisms respond to external stimuli more promptly and intelligently than they otherwise could. The primitive motor discharges are developed into sensory-motor activity, when some of the weaker motor organs are differentiated into feelers, and used to give indications of adjacent objects. The sensory organs might therefore with propriety be looked upon as the "dragging legs" of an organism. As they become less plastic and less mobile they are better able to reproduce at the higher centres the vibrations coming from outer objects. Pain aids this differentiation of the motor and sensory nerves by causing those activities to be inhibited which send motor currents to the sensory nerves. It can be said, therefore, that the

organic end of pain is to promote the differentiation of sensory and motor nerves just as the organic end of pleasure is to secure psychic control. Pleasure indicates psychic control; pain reveals its absence. As the different degrees of psychic control shade off gradually into each other, pleasures and pains seem to be but a part of a single scale and thus have the appearance of qualities.

There are, then, two distinct sources of motor activity. Its primary source is in the assimilation-motor system. The food an organism digests becomes stored up energy which is expended either in creating pleasure or in moving muscles. It is easy to conceive of a creature with no knowledge of the external world such as the sensory system gives. Its movements would be due either to the condition of the digestive tract, to violent shocks, or to the pleasure of mere activity. The last would be of the same class as play in more developed animals. It would be activity for its own sake without regard to any end that it might secure. Hunger, fear, satiety, and pleasure would be the feelings dominant in such a creature. All its adjustment to external conditions would be accidental. It could not live unless food were abundant, enemies scarce, and the dangers from natural forces at a minimum.

The end of the assimilation-motor system is life and pleasure; the end of the sensory-motor system is survival. The important objects in the external world are not the atoms and natural forces into which it may be decomposed, but the aggregates into which these atoms and natural forces are united. I use the term "aggregate" in its most general sense to include rocks, minerals, soils, seas, plants, animals, storms, moisture, climate or any other form, temporary or permanent, into which the elements of nature are united. Survival depends on the utilization of certain of these aggregates and on the avoidance of others. The sensory-motor system develops to meet this end. The sensory system pictures these aggregates and the motor system is so

adjusted to it that the proper motor reactions are excited by the presence of each aggregate. The assimilation-motor system thus begins with the digestion of food and ends in pleasure and activity. The sensory-motor system begins with vibrations coming from external objects and ends in definite motor reactions useful to the organism. The effects of the assimilation-motor system appear in consciousness as pleasure and pain, those of the sensory-motor system as clear ideas. The ideas the latter system brings to consciousness, being the more important, receive more conscious attention and can be contrasted and classified in a more definite manner. They seem, therefore, to be the fundamental series of ideas. It is easy to give them a first place and to regard the less clearly defined ideas of the assimilation motor system as mere modifications or qualities of the sensory concepts. Pleasure, for example, is thought to be a quality of colors, tastes and other sensory concepts aroused by the contact with external aggregates.

This conclusion is sound from what might be called a sensory-motor standpoint, but from an assimilation-motor standpoint sensory activity is merely a modification of motor activity. Instead of having a mass of aimless movements which cause pleasure but no adjustment, one group of motor nerves is so modified that they direct the activity that other motor nerves create. Some of the many motor organs or legs of the early forms of life degenerate into feelers that furnish indications of the adjacent aggregates and then a further generation turns them into sensory organs that give accurate information of external objects. Perception thus normally ends in complex motor reactions just as assimilation normally ends in pleasure. Life is promoted and enriched by causing the motor currents to produce pleasure while survival is furthered by using them to produce definite motor reactions.

A person eating an article of food has two series of impressions: the one, coming from direct contact with the object, creates the motor reactions we call pleasure; the other,

coming over the sensory nerves, gives a knowledge of the object and its relations to the consumer. These two series blend in consciousness, and it is therefore possible to regard either of them as fundamental, and the others as qualities. The assumption of the utilitarians that pleasures have degrees and qualities by which they can be measured, tacitly assumes that the sensory impressions are qualities of pleasures. How, for example, can anyone distinguish between first and last increments, and between initial and marginal utilities, except though the sensory impressions of the objects consumed? The doctrine of degrees and qualities of pleasure is sound so long as economic goods giving sensory impressions are under consideration, but strip an object of its sensory qualities and the definiteness of the utilitarian calculus disappears. In other words definite measurements are always in terms of clear ideas, and clear ideas belong to the sensory side of the mind. If I am right in putting pleasure among the motor feelings it can not be accurately measured except in the case of material goods which at the time they create pleasure also create a series of sensory impressions blending in consciousness with the pleasure and making it susceptible of measurement.

Another error, which has crept into the reasoning of the utilitarians, is due to the fact that they were economists. They assume that all pleasure arises from consumption and thus ignore the pleasures of activity. To an economist activity is work and work is disagreeable. So long as men are engaged in a severe struggle for existence this view is practically true. The ideal of the overworked is a haven of rest where they can repose and consume. But however true it may be that activity has disagreeable associations in the grind of an economic world, it is wrong to raise such a fact to the rank of a general principle and to base a theory of progress upon it. The incompleteness of such a generalization cramps the development of the doctrines which depend on it and creates a wrong concept of

social progress. Utilitarianism at bottom is a species of economics and has all the advantages and limitations which go with other economic investigations. If utilitarianism is sound as a moral doctrine, it is because an economic interpretation of social progress is correct.

To appreciate the progress that economic conditions create we must first of all understand how the economic struggle promotes psychic control. Assimilation, I have shown, normally ends in pleasure, and pleasure is the means by which psychic control is increased. Pleasure harmonizes the discordant motor tendencies and causes them to act together in an efficient way for the ends of the whole organism. Assimilation, the first link in the chain that leads to psychic control, demands the presence of food. Without an abundance of subsistence there is not enough assimilation to generate pleasure; and without pleasure there is no psychic control and hence no unity of action between the various parts of the organism. The underfed, being at a disadvantage, are gradually eliminated through the struggle for food.

The displacement of individuals that promotes psychic control is secured by under-nutrition. It wipes out those who have the least psychic control and leaves those with greatest psychic control in possession of the economic world. Complete nutrition and assimilation, however, can do no more than create psychic control, and when this end is secured increased consumption no longer contributes to social progress. The succeeding steps must depend on the increase of social control. All the individuals in a community must act together and obey similar impulses. There must be the same unity of action and harmony of motives in society that psychic control creates in the case of individuals.

In looking for the causes of social control we need not go outside the field of economics. The same causes are in operation, but they show their effects in another way. At

bottom the difference between the new form of progress and the old is that psychic control is improved by the elimination of the underfed, while social control is created by the elimination of the overfed. A more striking way of putting this contrast would be to say that men are killed off either by starvation or by dissipation. The underfed starve and the overfed lose their economic advantage through indulgences that weaken their psychic control and reduce their energy. Over-nutrition is as dangerous as under-nutrition and fully as fatal. Through the increase of psychic control and the industrial efficiency that goes with it, men are able to secure more nutrition and thus approach the line of complete nutrition; but this line must not be crossed. To avoid the latter evil the surviving part of society modify their consumption so that even with their increased efficiency they never cross the fatal line.

It should be noticed that survival depends upon two conditions. In the direct struggle with their fellows those have an advantage whose energy and psychic control is the greatest and this, in economic terms, means those who have the greatest productive power. This advantage is lost or turned into a disadvantage if so many goods are produced that their consumption leads to over-nutrition or to any form of over-stimulation. Social progress, therefore, demands a steady improvement in psychic control through which the productive power is increased and a corresponding modification of consumption in such ways as will avoid over-nutrition. These two ends are harmonized only through an increased variety of consumption.

Every increase in this variety creates new motives and thus stimulates an increase of psychic control and at the same time the more refined forms of consumption give less nutrition in each of its parts and thus the new whole, although larger and more varied, is not the source of over-nutrition.*

*For a full statement of this thought the reader is referred to the writer's monograph on "The Consumption of Wealth." Publications of the University of Pennsylvania.

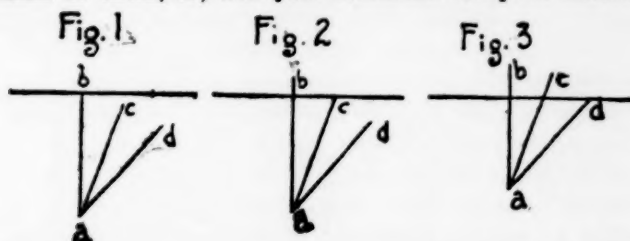
No matter how great the efficiency and energy of an individual he can always avoid crossing the line of complete nutrition by modifying his consumption so as to include in it a sufficiently large number of ingredients. Any increase of efficiency among the wellfed must result in over-nutrition if the intensity of old wants is not reduced and if new ones of greater intensity are not acquired. Those who persist in the old habits fall victims to dissipation and disappear. The surviving portion push along the line of complete nutrition and acquire habits, instincts and inclinations that prevent them from crossing the line of over-nutrition. The socialization of men is the result. Every increase in the variety of consumption creates new bonds between the various members of society and prompts them to create new institutions through which a more complex life can be enjoyed without the temptation of over-indulgence. The original economic aggregates into which men unite for industrial ends are thus transformed into true societies where new habits and modes of thought are acquired.*

The moralization of men has the same cause. The purely selfish man uses his increased psychic control to satisfy his personal wants. This tendency leads to over-nutrition and dissipation as soon as his industrial efficiency is enlarged. The most selfish among the wellfed are gradually weeded out and the surviving part of society becomes more altruistic. The inefficient man may be greedy and lustful and still survive, strong motives being needed to keep him at work. Greed and lust must, however, decrease with the increase of productive power. The more efficient will suffer from the over-nutrition which an enlarged income permits, or fall victims to dissipation and vice.

In the diagrams let the horizontal line be the line of complete nutrition, which must be reached but not crossed.

* See the writer's "Theory of Social Forces," pp. 85-90. Publication No. 103 of the Academy. Also issued as a supplement to the ANNALS, January, 1896, Vol. vi, No. 1.

The length of the vertical lines shows the amount of productive power and hence the income of three individuals—*ab*, *ac* and *ad*. The slant of these lines shows the amount of their altruistic effort, and hence the amount of skill and energy which is not centered on themselves. In Figure I, where the productive power and income is small, the most selfish of them, *ab*, will just command complete nutrition



and will not be injured by his selfishness although full of greed and lust. The other two cannot survive under these conditions, because their energies being partly used for the benefit of others leaves them short of complete nutrition. In Figure II where the productive power of the three men is greater, the most selfish, *ab*, will indulge in dissipation and be eliminated. A less selfish man, *ac*, now survives, but the more altruistic man, *ad*, still fails to secure complete nutrition. When, however, the productive power of these men is again increased (Figure III), the more altruistic man, *ad*, can hold his own. Both the others will cross the line of complete nutrition and suffer from over-nutrition. Every subsequent increase of productive power and income must produce similar effects and make a higher degree of altruism necessary for survival. The moralization of men thus accompanies their socialization and the two when united form the main bulwark against over-indulgence and dissipation.

These facts show that psychic control and social control are parts of the economic process by which an adjustment to external conditions is acquired. If a people have been

for a long time subject to the dangers of starvation they acquire great psychic control; if they are continuously exposed to dissipation, to vice and to the evils of over-nutrition, they gain additional social control. There is thus a measure of both these agents in the objective conditions which determine the consumption of each race. At bottom they are problems of nutrition and capable of the same treatment as other economic problems. To isolate them from their economic background is to deny them the possibilities of scientific discussion and to introduce an irrational element into the discussion of social problems.

A notable example of this tendency is furnished by Mr. Kidd's "Social Evolution." There is never, he thinks, any cessation of that strenuous process by which the least efficient are exterminated. Competition and rivalry necessarily result in the suffering and failure of a large part of those struggling for life. Those who fail have no share in the social progress secured by their elimination and their welfare demands that it cease. The interests of individuals and that of society are therefore irreconcilable. Reason would ultimately stop all further progress if it were not controlled by religion. It should be noticed that this reasoning assumes that the elimination takes place only among the underfed. The thought is emphasized that the unsuccessful are battling with hunger. Want, misery and failure are on every side and to their effects all social progress is due.

Even if these facts be admitted social progress cannot be attributed to them. Over-population and misery, by eliminating the least efficient, may promote psychic control but they never create social control. There are variations among the wellfed as well as among the underfed and the same struggle exists among these varieties as among the underfed. The more selfish exploit present conditions and are eliminated through the effects of over-nutrition. The less selfish vary their consumption and enter into new social relations to check their tendencies towards over-indulgence.

Mr. Kidd assumes that selfishness and the resulting over-indulgence among the wellfed have a rational sanction, but that a varied consumption which prevents over-nutrition has no sanction. This odd conclusion shows a lack of knowledge of economic science and of the utilitarian calculus upon which it depends. It is so much in the wrong that the opposite of it can easily be proved. It is the irrational man who is selfish and chooses present indulgences. He only is rational who avoids them. He lengthens his life and increases the sum of his happiness by a varied consumption through which over-nutrition and its evils are prevented.

It is not, therefore, for the interest of the lower classes to stop progress; the exploitation of the masses does not advance civilization, nor is it a necessary feature of progress. If this exploitation should cease and the evils of poverty be remedied there would still be a tendency to create variations among individuals, and those who avoided the evils of over-nutrition would have an advantage. The race under these conditions would advance more rapidly than before. The weeding process exerted by over-nutrition and dissipation fails to work among those who suffer from poverty and starvation.

The social consequences drawn by such writers as Mr. Kidd depend upon a defective statement of the theory of evolution. Premises definite enough for the purposes of biology become inadequate when used in social philosophy. The reasoning of Darwin is usually stated in this form:

- 1st. The rapid multiplication of the species.
- 2nd. The struggle for existence.
- 3rd. The survival of the fittest.

There is a lack of sequence between the second and third step. Logically the struggle for existence only ends in the survival of the wellfed. A wellfed animal may perhaps be called a fit animal but the same cannot be said of a wellfed man. It is the social and not the bodily qualities of a man

that determines his fitness. To meet this new condition the steps of reasoning must be modified as follows:

- 1st. The rapid multiplication of the species.
- 2nd. The struggle for existence.
- 3rd. The survival of the wellfed.
- 4th. The degeneration of the overfed.
- 5th. The modification of desires.
- 6th. The survival of the fittest.

Another defect in the reasoning of the biologists is a source of error if overlooked by those who would apply this reasoning to social affairs. The appearance of variations and the struggle for food may account for the rise of new species, but it does not account for the permanence of types. The struggle for existence by cutting off the underfed would by itself create a moving equilibrium but not the stable characteristics which static species show. Biologists have been more interested in the rise of new forms of life than they have been in the question as to why certain types persist. It is necessary, however, to explain not only the origin of species but also the causes for the persistence of certain species, little modified by the struggles for existence of their members.

An enduring species must be acted on by more than one force. An equilibrium results when two forces counteract each other. The elimination by under-nutrition, if operating alone, would soon change the character of a species. This change of type is checked by any process which cuts off the variations which the elimination of the underfed promotes. A permanent type must be under two restraints which so limit the possibility of variations that the main peculiarities of the type are preserved. Then only those variations can perpetuate themselves which are in harmony with the main conditions upon which the success of the type depends.

Among men the two restraints on variation giving stability to men's characters are under-nutrition and over-nutrition. By eliminating both extremes among men they

tend to reduce men to a single type. There is a leveling up to the standard of this type by the destruction of the underfed and a leveling down to this standard by the destruction of the overfed. The net result is a uniformity of character and an equality of conditions. The farther this process is carried the more social men become. There arises a vivid consciousness of kind and an intense admiration of democratic ideals. By these means the race is bound together and the motives created that induce individuals to subordinate their interests to those of the public. There is, however, nothing irrational or even non-utilitarian in the process. The adjustment to planetary conditions is economic and is determined by the conditions of consumption.

A theory of consumption includes all the means by which men acquire intenser motives and desires without overstimulation or over-nutrition. The whole economic process thus includes many distinct processes some of which lie in a field seemingly apart from it. There is first the process of psychic concentration or psychic control through which a unity of action is acquired. Akin to this is the process of visualization which includes the sensory mechanism through which the environment is objectified and clear ideas of it acquired. There is also the process of pleasure objectification. Pleasures are motor phenomena. If they appeared in a pure form, they would seem incommensurable and isolated from the economic goods upon which survival depends. When, however, pleasures are blended in consciousness with the sensory concepts arising from contact with material objects they seem to be objective and capable of comparison through the sensory concepts associated with them. They thus become measurable motives and the source of conscious endeavor. There is next the process of industrialization, which includes all attempts to minimize efforts and to reduce the amount of pain. These topics are fully treated in ordinary economic textbooks and need no further emphasis. The final processes are those of

socialization and moralization. They represent the last stages in the process of adjustment and when they are complete the goal of economic progress is reached.

At first sight this view of economics seems to make it an all-inclusive science. A closer examination, however, shows that as much has been cut out of it as has been added to it. The very definiteness with which the economic process is conceived shows that it must be supplemented, even though sociology and morality are not the supplements demanded. What we need is not a higher science but one that treats of more elementary phenomena—the ultimate psychic causes upon which the economic process depends.

It would be well to contrast the economic self which utilizes the environment and aids organisms in their adjustment, with the non-economic self whose activity is purely motor and whose end is more than mere adjustment to planetary conditions. The first is the self of the sensory-motor system; the second is the self of the assimilation-motor system. This second self is inherently as capable of development as the first but it cannot develop so long as economic conditions dominate the organism and limit the scope of its evolution. It must therefore remain in a rudimentary condition while men are in an economic world and struggling for survival.

There is, however, always a fringe of activity due to pure motor tendencies, even for those deepest immersed in practical affairs. This fringe is largest and most noticeable in the case of children. In them pure motor activity becomes play and thus a wider range of motor activities is encouraged than is demanded by the sensory environment upon which survival depends. Play is not due to survival impulses but to pure assimilation-motor impulses; the desire of activity for its own sake and not for the protection or benefit which it may afford. Such activity is more elementary and comes earlier than that of the sensory-motor impulses created by planetary evolution. Could it become the dominant activity the non-economic self would reveal

its possibilities and a series of social and moral sciences would appear independent of those that the economic process has created. As it is, however, this series of sciences being merely an embryological possibility is a source of confusion. There is a strong tendency for investigators to start with the rudimentary phenomena of this series and to patch them out with the more definite phenomena due to the sensory-motor activity of the economic world. Such attempts give a wrong notion of the lines along which the non-economic self would develop if it were free from the domination of economic conditions and at the same time give a false basis for the social and moral development of existing societies. The result is that the social and moral sciences are severed from the economic process of which they are a part and grafted on the rudimentary stubs of the possible sciences in these fields which the activity of the non-economic self might create.

It would be nearer the truth to recognize that individual variation comes from the activity of the non-economic self but that social types have an economic origin. An individual variation cannot develop into a type unless the variation is the source of some economic advantage. A non-economic variation cannot perpetuate itself and hence fails to transform itself into a type, and without social types there can be no developed forms of society or of morality. The non-economic self can do no more than produce individual variations. Only the economic self can determine whether these variations are suited to its ends, and thus capable of being transformed into a social type. To one of these selves all variations are due and to the other all the social types. They thus supplement each other and create a progress of which either by itself is incapable. It may sound paradoxical to say that economic progress is due to non-economic impulses, yet the statement contains a truth which it is difficult to express in other terms.

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ROUSSEAU AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Among the many crises in the world's history few have attracted the attention of historians and political writers as has the French Revolution. Nor is it remarkable that all who are interested in problems of government should inquire carefully into the causes and history of the movement from which constitutional rule in France has developed, and which is to-day considered the source of whatever democratic institutions Continental Europe possesses.

No less noticeable than the number of authors who have treated the period, is the variety of causes to which the final outbreak has been attributed. One writer has considered it an outgrowth of the spirit of rationalism in Europe; another has regarded the movement only as the natural revolt of an oppressed people; while a third, it may be, has seen in it a special visitation of Providence upon a corrupt and wicked government. ✓

In all discussion of causes, there is great danger that essentials and non-essentials may be confused. Forces which powerfully affected the work of reconstruction, but were of little influence in earlier years, may be considered the chief factors aiding the downfall of the *ancien régime*. This cannot be illustrated more effectively than by comparing such causes as the financial weakness of the Bourbon monarchy, and the political condition of its subjects. If a series of corrupt administrations had produced a deficit so large, and a discontent so universal that some change was necessary, it was probable from the political methods in which France had been trained, and from the absence of any centres of resistance between the king and the individual citizens, that the change would be a radical one. It is not to be denied that literary France exerted an influence in hastening the revolution, for in every country whose

institutions are decaying, writers appear who devote themselves to portraying abuses, as well as to elaborating new systems. Some of the most influential Frenchmen entered this field of complaint with an effect that cannot be ignored. In a country, however, where the theory of absolute government is so universally accepted as it was in France, under the Bourbons, and where so much is endured rather than to disturb theoretically perfect conceptions, there is, it would seem, little opportunity for the development of a new ideal into an active force, until the old has been proven extremely defective.

In marked contrast with the hesitancy with which the French recognize fatal defects in a method of government to which they have unreservedly given themselves, is the zeal with which a new and complete system is sought, when once such defects are perceived. The ideal then proposed is not the improvement of the old, but its entire replacement. The mediæval feudal monarchy was thus replaced by the later absolutism; and it was thus that the papal hierarchy was replaced, so far as it was discarded at all, by Deism or Atheism, rather than by the Protestant compromises found in other countries. Is it not this eagerness for a complete system which, even among professed reformers, accounts for the differences between the ideas of Calvin and Luther in religion, and which explains the development of the physiocratic ideas into an economic system in France, rather than in England?

There is something attractive about such a method of thought, and yet there is always the danger that the results of its application to practical affairs may be very different from those intended. Let us take an example among questions of government. When changes of system are the result of modifications introduced singly, but successively, there is comparatively little danger of the overthrow of all government and a temporary period of anarchy, for even should the addition be unpopular, the body of the structure

yet remains as a steadying force. In proposing a total change, it too frequently happens that instead of providing an adequate foundation on which the new system may rest and which was an essential part of its original conception, minor writers, or shallow political leaders who do not realize the necessity for such a foundation, seek to establish the new ideal without it. With such methods anarchy or despotism can be the only result. There is not only the danger of a poor system but the added possibility that acceptable features may lose force by not being correctly applied. It does not follow that the democratic ideas developed by Rousseau in his social compact, were intended to be applied to France just emerging from ignorance and political inexperience, even though he presents an ideal of government very different from the existing absolutism. Nor does it follow that there were not portions of his political system which would have been of immense value to France, had they been correctly applied. Nothing is more certain, however, than that certain of his phrases were caught up by political leaders during the Revolution, that an effort was made to establish a government for which his approval was claimed, and that the result was anarchy, followed by a despotism as powerful, if not as bigoted, as any that France had seen. It was not the complete system which Rousseau had developed that was adopted when the time came for constructive work, but a hasty plan based on a few phrases taken from one of his writings. Even in a constitution built in this way, there were incorporated many features from Rousseau's ideals, which have proven of lasting value to France, although others of as much importance were lost.

It is the purpose of this paper to show how far Rousseau was responsible for the revolutionary governments, as well as to indicate the essential features of the ideal which he offered to France, and its influence on later political thought.

What was the ideal which Rousseau sought to obtain by his proposals? I doubt if this question can be answered better than by the hackneyed phrase, "popular sovereignty." Distinctly abandoning the notion of divine right, or long established custom, Rousseau takes a position which has never since been abandoned, declaring that governments derive all their power from the consent of the governed. He advances an hypothesis concerning the development and historical justification of this idea, which may, or may not, have been true, and on which he places little weight, regarding it as an unessential portion of his argument. His position is that governments ought to be based on this consent, and not that all governments are in fact so founded. At a later point we shall consider the question whether Rousseau regarded his ideal as immediately attainable. For the present we ask what credit should be given him for placing it before the world?

It is frequently argued that the falsity of Rousseau's historical allusions condemns his entire theory, but to this position I would take vigorous exception. History was, by no means, the science a century ago which it is to-day, and the political writer was obliged to use authorities which, to-day, are ranked as second rate, for the simple reason that there were none better. Rousseau is not the only writer of the period who looked back to some golden age long past. The difference between him and his contemporaries was that almost alone he maintained the possibility of attaining a future condition no less ideal than that which mankind had once enjoyed. This, in itself, was an improvement over the despondency which had characterized the first half of the century, for it made prominent an object worthy of attainment. The picture of the state as a society, in which every member had duties and privileges equal to those enjoyed by his neighbor, was yet more important, since it furnished an incentive which appealed to the sentiment of justice, as well as hope. It was to furnish a

logical foundation on which such a society could be erected, that Rousseau developed his theory of the social compact, a voluntary union between the individuals living within a given territory.

Although his writings did not originate the conception of society as created by compact, nowhere else had it been so clearly stated, and its conclusions so logically drawn. Neither Locke nor Hobbes gave the entire control of the government to the people, and thus limited the power which should belong to the governed under the logical development of the idea. The Pilgrims, on the Mayflower, who first applied the principle to practical affairs, had long since abandoned the complete theory by recognizing the right of special legislation vested in the Crown, and it was not until Rousseau once more boldly announced it as a logical whole, that the idea again became a living force in the world.

When the state has been formed by the express or implied consent of its members, justice becomes the rule of action for the people, and there is a true harmony of interests among them. A certain policy is for the best interests of the community as a whole, and it is for the general will of the state to determine whether any proposal is in agreement with this policy. By becoming a part of the state, every citizen has in effect said that he wishes the general will to prevail, and it only remains to be seen whether any proposition is in accord with this will. Government is instituted for this purpose, and Rousseau is careful to say that the form of government best for a nation varies in different cases. The people should have, at all times, the right to suggest laws, or to veto any law suggested by the legislative body, for in this way alone can that harmony be maintained between people and law, which is essential to national well-being. The magistrates, *i. e.*, all administrative officials, should be chosen directly, or indirectly, by the people and should be held closely responsible to them, in order that the true will of the community may always be supreme. Such,

then, is his plan, and its one object is to assure to the people at all times, and in all matters, a definite control.* Now the question to be asked is merely this: Can any state whose legal rulers profess to draw all their powers from the consent of the ruled, demand any less guarantee than the one which Rousseau offers?

If we examine the various systems of government then in force, we shall find none so democratic as this. The mere announcement of such a principle, therefore, marks a decided advance. Yet all that has been said may be granted, and usually is granted, without affecting the argument of those who consider Rousseau's proposals injurious to the nation. Such a system, it is said, offered no guarantee of good government, because the people had not, in 1789, the capacity of judging what was best for themselves while they were being incited to overthrow the existing system of control, and exercise sovereign powers of their own right. Let us examine the basis of such a criticism.

In defence of this position, it is assumed that Rousseau intended all men, of whatever grade, to possess an equal influence in the state. Nothing could be more false. So long as there is a difference in intellectual capacity, our author distinctly says that the lower grades should not be considered a part of the state, but he does not hesitate to

* In spite of the frequent assertions that Rousseau did not set forth any method of ascertaining just what the general will was, that indeed he denies it to be the sum of individual wills or the possibility of its being determined by a party (Bk. 2, cap. iii), I would yet maintain that he relies for its ascertainment on a vote of the people. A majority may not in this manner formulate the general will but it can say that a proposed measure is in harmony with it. Indeed it is doubtful if after the organization of the state the general will is again declared, but the people act as a government. The factions which controlled European politics at that time might well have awakened mistrust in Rousseau's mind. In the same way Bluntschli speaks of sovereignty as "not a sum of particular isolated rights but a general or common right" ("Theory of State," vii, 1). We do not deny the existence of sovereign power. Why should we deny the existence of a general will predominant over individual wills as sovereign authority is above the separate powers exercised in its name? Is it not a society like the one set forth by Rousseau as ideal which Herbert Spencer pictures in his concluding volume on the "Principles of Sociology?"

affirm that these classes should be prepared for citizenship as soon as possible, and when qualified should be admitted to full rights. The controlling power of the more competent, which has been presented by writers since his time, as a new development of democratic government, is thus maintained.

✓ The only aristocracy, however, which he would recognize is one of intellect. Wealth, or family, is no reason why one man should stand above his fellows, nor are there any reasons why aught but justice should regulate social relations. Here, in the opinion of the writer, are stated the essentials of democracy, and to the recognition of these essentials the world has been gradually approaching ever since Rousseau wrote. Even the fact that the first idea was incorrectly applied has not prevented the second from transforming France and parts of the neighboring countries from a régime of privilege to one of legal equality.

Regarding the immediate abolition of privilege, it is often assumed by careless critics of Rousseau, that he was in favor of revolt against the Bourbon government in France, but a careful study of his works shows that only indirectly does he favor any such proposition. His chapter on sovereignty in the "*Contrat Social*," in which are found practically all the quotations so commonly taken from his works during the revolutionary period, merely declares that the general will is sovereign, inalienable and indivisible. It does not sanction revolution against legitimate government. On the contrary Rousseau again and again asserts that revolutions do not make men capable of conducting the government. This indeed is the crucial point of the whole discussion. For whom is the system of government outlined in the "*Contrat Social*" intended? Every citizen whom it considers as exercising a share in the control of the nation is a man of enlightened character and of political ability. At the time of the adoption of the contract, Rousseau considers men as morally perfect, and political capacity as being at once

obtained; but in the case of a young person growing up under eighteenth century conditions, the same result can be reached only by submitting him to a proper course of education, and in this course, experience and example, rather than verbal instruction, is insisted on. In rare cases alone, is any such result produced by a revolution. Thus, when Rousseau discusses the admission of a new class into the state as in the case of Poland, he insists that a careful education be given to prepare them for their duties and rights as full members of the community. There were, without doubt, many technically free citizens of France in Rousseau's time quite as incompetent in matters of statesmanship as were the slaves of Poland, and it is hardly fair to consider our author as ignorant of such conditions, especially if at the same time he is held to advocate a revolution, which shall secure an impartial distribution of advantages.

The cause of the error is that Rousseau's critics deem him to desire a re-creation of the state, and assume that in his mind, Frenchmen of the eighteenth century were in the same condition as the original creators whom he had pictured. In fact, however, he does not consider such action as possible, since after the state has been instituted, its form of government only may be altered. He would regenerate its members by education and training until they had the same qualifications as those which the original units possessed. They would then be sufficiently wise to select the most advantageous form of government, and national prosperity would be assured.

That the scheme of government outlined in the "*Contrat Social*" was not considered by its author as applicable to France of 1760 is evident if we examine his other writings. In his discourses, Rousseau had said that existing governments were the outgrowths of injustice, and that no mere change in form would give to man the true possibilities of his development. The real change must come first of all

in the man himself. Thus he recognizes that if man is not already suited for an ideal government, the change to that form will not produce such an effect. He could not have maintained that man had remained perfect in France since that state of nature had been abandoned, for if so, the government could not have been degenerate. He must have considered the various régimes which had controlled France, rather as examples of those systems which degraded their subjects.*

If Rousseau had mentioned no method of individual initiative by which men could be made good citizens, we might conclude that he intended the change in government to have preceded all others, but this is not the case. Such an error is only possible to those who consider the "*Contrat Social*" as Rousseau's only work, containing his whole system. If he had written no other treatise than this, or if there had been a long interval of time between the publication of his various writings, the neglect of all but one would be more excusable, but the "*Contrat Social*" was only one of a series of works published at the same time, which must be read together to understand the real theory of their author. In "*La Nouvelle Heloise*," (1761) he considers the true relations which should exist between members of the family; in the "*Emile*" (1762) he shows how a man should be educated to make him fitted for social and political duties; while in the "*Contrat Social*," published in the same year, is pictured the true method of government, although this volume is intended to be followed by a fuller exposition of this subject. The first two works being, in a sense, preparatory, we should expect that the immediate application of theories there set forth would produce more satisfactory results than an attempt to graft the governmental ideas on an undeveloped society, and such, indeed, was the outcome. It is in this field of influence that we find the best basis for an estimate of the man. Rousseau is recognized as a social

* "*Contrat Social*," bk. I, cap. viii.

reformer by writers who see only revolution in his political ideas and it is largely because in this field of suggestion his advice was more faithfully followed. It is but fair to remember that society, at the time, was fitted for the application of social reforms, but had not reached the state where Rousseau considered his political system as applicable. It may be true that the three works together furnish neither a perfect nor a practical system of national life, but it is no less true that the separation of one from the others is unjust to the author, and deprives the system of any opportunity to prove its practical worth, or its essential falseness.

Indeed one of the most frequent criticisms of these two preparatory volumes is that they present ideal social schemes impossible of realization. The thought that the constitution of the state outlined in the "Social Contract" might have been another such plan, dependent for its success upon the accomplishment of radical changes in social matters, seems to have been neglected. Fair criticism of the three works considered as a whole, is hardly consistent with the declaration that Rousseau was a revolutionist, for if a great social and political change was considered desirable, in none of these works is it considered as attainable by the people themselves, except gradually and by a long system of training. If indeed this gradual revolution had been attempted and had failed, then a much firmer foundation for the charges of incapacity would have been furnished, than can be built from the actual occurrences of 1789.*

Nor do we lack further proof that Rousseau did not intend his system of government to be applied to an uneducated and disordered people. Ten years after the publication of the works we have been considering, he was called upon for plans regarding the government of Poland, and although many of his suggestions tend toward an improve-

* His system of training is similar to that of Turgot. See the works of Turgot, Vol. II, pp. 785-94

ment of the government as well as of social conditions, he is careful to advise gradual and moderate, rather than sudden and violent changes in political methods. There are references to the "Social Contract," but he seems to realize that he is not planning a government for the ideal nation he pictured when writing that treatise.

In a word, Rousseau presents in his writings two series of propositions, the first intended to show how an ideal government could be gradually established and maintained; the second, found in his work on Poland, consisting of suggestions for the immediate reform of many existing social and political evils. It was not his fault that the writers and speakers of the revolution attempted to apply portions of his complete theory, and rejected his practical suggestions.*

It may be interesting to examine his position in regard to changes in the Polish government, for we may thus imagine how Rousseau would have acted in the crisis of 1789. His political suggestions are mainly found in Chapter VII of his "*Considerations sur Pologne*," and among them are the following: "We should never forget that necessity alone justifies changes in the existing order whether by a grant of new power or a retrenchment of the old."† These are hardly the words of a revolutionist for they imply the most cautious action. Again, when he is considering the necessity of changing the relative numbers of representatives in the Polish Diet in order to secure equality between the two houses, this ardent advocate of democracy, later assumed to be in favor of large legislative assemblies, remarks: "A natural remedy would seem to be secured by an increase in the number of the delegates, but I fear lest such action might cause too much commotion in

* Rousseau himself says that he takes his models from his own imagination, and then tries to see how they may be attained. See "*Rousseau juge de Jean Jacques*," Third dialogue, p. 193.

† "Mais ne perdons jamais de vue l'importante maxime de ne rien changer sous nécessité ni pour retrancher ni pour ajouter."

the state and bring us too nearly to mob rule. If it is absolutely necessary to change the proportion, I should prefer to decrease the number of senators rather than to increase the number of delegates."* Here Rousseau is not arguing for the form of government best suited to ideal conditions, but as to what shall be done for a nation which is on the point of breaking to pieces, a nation much nearer the France of 1789, than France was to the ideal people for whom the "*Contrat Social*" was framed. It was a fact which was before him. How would he have the executive department administered? "In order that the government may be strong, pure and best able to justify its existence, all executive power should be in the hands of the same persons: it does not suffice that these persons should be replaced occasionally by others, but if possible they should be held responsible to the legislator who should be their real director."† Can we say that the revolutionary leaders who distributed power among a number of committees who repeatedly declared themselves independent of their constituents, who introduced a constitution without the approval of the nation at large, and who rejected anything approaching parliamentary government, as to-day understood, were the true followers of Rousseau? Such examples serve to show that Rousseau not only had the power of presenting plans for the attainment of ideal forms of government, but that he also recognized practical necessities. In the propositions of the Physiocrats we can see the same ideal of perfect government for it is only as the sovereign prince makes justice his rule of conduct that he is regarded as a legal in

* "Un remède naturel à ce défaut se présente de lui-même; c'est augmenter le nombre des nonces; mais je craindrois que cela ne fit trop de mouvement dans l'Etat et n'approchât trop du tumulte démocratique. S'il falloit absolument changer la proportion, au lieu d'augmenter le nombre des nonces j'aimerois mieux diminuer le nombre des sénateurs."

† "Pour que l'administration soit forte, bonne et marche bien son but, toute la puissance exécutive doit être dans les mêmes mains; mais il ne suffit pas que ces mains changent, il faut qu'elles n'agissent s'il est possible que sous les yeux du législateur et que ce soit lui qui les guide."

distinction from an arbitrary ruler. Neither Turgot nor La Rivière designate any one to pass judgment on the justice of the ruler's actions and it would seem that in this respect their theory is inferior to Rousseau's, who would have the people made capable of criticising, as well as competent to rule. It is easy also to see how a people called on for advice and assistance by their king, as were the French in 1789, could readily imagine themselves the judges of the royal conduct, competent to decide whether it was legal or arbitrary, an excuse for revolution being thus furnished quite equal to any intended by the author of the "*Contrat Social*."*

It is also interesting to note that education in political duties is the method which Turgot would apply for making good citizens, a method which does not differ essentially from that proposed by Rousseau, and yet the great controller is rarely spoken of as a theorist in matters of government, a term so frequently applied to the author we are considering. Rousseau's real plans were followed neither by the writers who advocated the revolution nor by the legislators who planned its constructive work. In one sense he was as extreme in his proposals as they were. His ideal state presents as great a contrast to the France of 1789, as does any proposal advanced by the speakers or writers of the period. The fundamental distinction between them is found in the methods of realization proposed. Rousseau presents in clear outline a plan of gradual advance by education in the duties of life, expressly stating his disbelief in man's being at that time perfect, or the probability of the attainment of perfection by revolution. The more

* When he is discussing the basis of government Turgot says (Vol. ii, p. 503), "The rights of men united in society are not founded on their past but on their nature. Only reason justifies the continuance of old institutions." (p. 504), "The cause of the existing evils is that your nation has no constitution. It is a society composed of different orders badly united whose members have few social ties to bind them together. Where consequently every one is occupied with his own concerns almost exclusively, and hardly one pays attention to his duties to his fellows. Thus right has never ruled in this perpetual conflict of ideas and undertakings."

radical leaders throughout the country—the men who determined the direction the movement should take—as distinctly express their belief that the people of the time are able to operate the machinery of the state, and that they, themselves, can execute the wishes of the people. Rousseau intended his plan for small states, expressly saying that further development was needed to make it applicable to a populous nation. The leaders in the Assembly had no hesitancy in applying their conclusions to the whole of France. The fundamental needs of a nation according to Rousseau, are distinctly recognized by so able a man as Turgot in his proposals for reform, made to the King, but the leaders of 1791-93 considered them only secondarily, if at all. Before Rousseau, there were writers like Morelly, more radical than he, and with the progress of discontent, these radical views gained not only by extension among the people, but their intensive force increased. In accord with the spirit of his time, Rousseau looked back to an ideal period but also forward to a renewal of such conditions if a long, faithful effort were made, and thus he intensified the longing for ideals which was characteristic of France, throughout this period. Further than this, he does not go. It took a later and more hopeful generation than his to expect to realize ideals at once. Turgot places the interval at ten years,* but it was not until the last decade of the century that it was considered possible to at once establish a heaven upon this earth.

The tide of expectation advanced, but unless we can see the views of Rousseau in the proposals of Marat and his associates, we have no right to hold that author responsible for their conduct. Such responsibility is not proven by the quotations from the "Social Contract" which we find used by the later leaders, nor would it be proven if this work could be shown to have been their sole guide. A half truth may be no less a lie than a deliberate mis-statement, and in this

* Works, Vol. ii, p. 508.

way only can the theories of the revolutionists be said to have been drawn from Rousseau. Not isolated statements, chapters or books, but his whole doctrine must be the final test, and in this connection the statement already made that in the political pamphlets of the revolutionary period there is hardly a reference to Rousseau's works aside from his chapters in the "Social Contract" on sovereignty, is of marked importance. By 1789-93 society had advanced so far in its discontent with the Bourbon absolutism and the limited government which had been placed in its stead, that even the radical doctrine based on only a few phrases taken from these chapters developed ideas which every one had in his heart. If we are seeking some writer who above others inspired this growing discontent and restlessness so characteristic of the period and which prepared the nation to accept any scheme which was complete and promised much, we must look to Necker with his work on the administration of the finances in France, rather than to any writing of the philosophers.

Rousseau, to be sure, placed before the world the picture of a nation under an ideal government, and thus excited an enthusiasm for liberty, equality and fraternity which, it is to be hoped, will never cease to exist. If to arouse a desire for such a condition is an offence against rational government, if we ought never to seek anything or be inspired by anything better than a system of compromise, then was Rousseau a bar to all political advance and an enemy to progress. But if it is necessary to disregard the main body of his writings entirely and to judge the remaining few passages and phrases distinct from their context, and wholly by the use made of them by men who did not understand them; if all this is necessary to make Rousseau a revolutionist, can we not honestly say that such an indictment has small basis in fact. We may believe that unless Rousseau had lived, France and the world would have lacked the inspiration to progress which a noble political ideal

attractively presented, is sure to furnish; we may possibly say that but for him, the French Revolution would not have followed the exact course it did pursue, but that is entirely different from making him the inciter of the revolutionary policy. It is no condemnation of a man or his system, when the ends he proposes are sought by means which he has denounced, and the result is failure. Finally, it must be remembered that Rousseau intended writing a larger work on government in which some of the ideas of the "*Contrat Social*" should be developed and doubtful points explained. Indeed it is said that he left notes on several subjects, among others the application of his ideas to large states, but they have been destroyed. Thus, we can not conclude that a neglect to give all the details of his plans is necessarily fatal to their practicability.

In our study and interpretation of Rousseau's writings we have seen that writers, speakers and listeners have obtained ideas regarding his system of government, which even the "*Contrat Social*" fails to support, and for whose origin we must hold the speakers themselves, or at least, other and more radical writers responsible. The Assembly added to this misinterpretation being influenced by its own ambition, and thus framed a composite doctrine, which may have been accepted as Rousseau's, but which differed widely from his conceptions. The people thought they were getting popular government, their leaders were aiming at an oligarchy, although a few recognized this as a preparatory stage.

But this is not all. We see that a more serious misjudgment was made at the time, which is not absent from more recent writings. Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, had not the discrimination to understand that the doctrine for society outlined in the "*Social Contract*" was not intended for France of their time. They did not see that if portions of it could be safely followed, the complete theory was intended only for an ideal society, a condition which France

was expected to reach, but which as surely she had not yet attained.

The works in which Rousseau outlined his method of attaining an improved government, as well as those which proved his ability to distinguish between the desirable and the expedient, were neglected at the time, and have been largely neglected ever since. Probably our author did not anticipate the present methods of parliamentary government in their entirety. Very few, if any, thinkers of that period did understand such a system, yet I doubt if anywhere in Europe, Rousseau could see in practice, or read in theory, a nearer approach to the idea, than he gives us in his considerations on Poland. If his plans do not advocate parliamentary government, they surely do favor a system like that of Switzerland to-day, and which is regarded with so much favor. The safeguard found in the Swiss referendum is but the execution of Rousseau's proposals, while the political ability of that nation has been so raised by generations of governmental training, that it is not far from that which he would have considered attainable, had the methods of training set forth in the "*Emile*" been applied in France. With every advance in qualifications, the last century has seen an extension of political power to the masses of Western Europe, and it is Rousseau, more than any of his contemporaries, who advocated such gradual progress.

But these are, by no means, the commonly accepted views of Rousseau and of his philosophy. To what shall we attribute the difference? First, to the fact again and again emphasized that the real work of the author was not judged as a whole, but by the action of men who professed to be following his doctrine, while in reality using certain of his phrases in a sense different from that intended by their author. Secondly, to the intense reaction against popular influence which controlled Europe during the period immediately following the Revolution and which rendered impossible any serious investigation of its causes, or any

impartial judgment of its supposed inciters. So far as there was an honest spirit of criticism, stress was laid on the powers of analysis shown by writers and the correctness of the authorities quoted in their works. In both of these fields, Rousseau was weak; in the latter, because no good history of the past existed at his time, and because the correctness of these allusions was no essential part of his work; in the former, because he had not an analytical mind, dealing rather with bodies as a whole than with their component parts.

Somewhat akin to this reaction against freedom in politics, was the rejection by succeeding generations of that atheism and loose morality, which the revolution was thought to have advanced, and of which Rousseau was regarded as a marked example. Against the former of these charges, Rousseau may be defended, for he was no atheist, but rather a pronounced deist; against the latter it is true little can be said, unless the frankness with which he confessed his faults, and but for which many of his offences would be unknown, may be regarded as lessening the offence. Always quarreling, always considering himself as ill-treated, always reflecting on the honesty of others, Rousseau was not a man to be admired. Probably an epileptic from birth, and at any rate afflicted with an emotional temperament, which became partial insanity before his death, his writings contain many fanciful passages and vulgar allusions, which have made them tiresome or ludicrous to the searcher for practical political guidance, and offensive to the moralist. These defects have doubtless caused many readers to throw down his works in disgust, and yet is it not more remarkable that a man educated as was Rousseau, and partially insane, as he was during his later years, should not have left more traces of his weakness in his works? The writer is no admirer of Rousseau's personality, and yet is it not possible that it is this which has hindered an impartial judgment of his political theories?

If we are to consider his writings by themselves, let us not judge their author by a single work; if his theories are to be valued by their results, let us not confine our attention solely to the Revolution, but consider also the advance which democracy has made since his time. Finally, if we are considering Rousseau as a writer on government, we must not allow his moral weakness to blind us to the grandeur and completeness of his political conceptions.

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THE GEORGE JUNIOR REPUBLIC.

The George Junior Republic takes its name in part from its founder, Mr. William R. George, and in part from the fact that it is a "government of the children, by the children and for the children."

Mr. George spent his boyhood on a farm, one mile distant from Freeville, Tompkins County, New York, and, going to New York City in early manhood, engaged in a variety of philanthropic labor for the welfare of little children. In April of 1890, he saw in the *New York Evening World* a pathetic account of a little street boy's sad disappointment in finding that what he supposed was a dandelion growing in the centre of City Hall Park was only a piece of orange peel. The delights of his own boyhood's home recurred to him with especial vigor after the perusal of this article, and he determined to do what he could to give to the children of the poor, a taste of those same enjoyments. Accordingly, during the years 1890 to 1895, he took from two hundred to two hundred and sixty children each year from their tenement house homes, and gave them a summer's outing. Thus far the undertaking had differed little from many others, but, in the spring of 1895, the thought flashed upon him to change his summer's camping party into a miniature republic.

The territory of the Republic is even smaller than that of San Marino, being only forty-eight acres in extent, and its buildings are few and simple. In the winter its inhabitants are only forty-four in number, twenty-seven boys and seventeen girls; and in the summer, when the tide of immigration rolls in, the population increases to two hundred and fifty, and tents are erected to supplement the few simple buildings. But within these simple environments transpire the political, industrial, educational, religious, and other

social events which the name Republic implies. Freeville, in whose vicinity the Republic is located, is a quiet country town in the southern central part of New York State, and within plain view of Ithaca and Cornell University, nine miles away to the west. The neighbors of the Republic are a simple and kindly people, who appreciate the good motives and high ideals underlying the movement, and extend a cordial welcome to it and its inhabitants.

Although Mr. George's presence and influence pervade every detail of the Republic's life they do so only indirectly, and he interferes only in case some grave moral question is involved. At first he was the Republic's president and had a veto power over its laws, but now there is a boy president, whose veto can be set aside only by a two-thirds vote of the Congress.

Congress consists of the Senate and House of Representatives, and has the power of passing laws in harmony with the United States Constitution and the laws of New York State. I will quote one or two of the laws passed by it:

"Be it enacted, That the use of tobacco in every form, including cigarettes, be prohibited in the George Junior Republic . . . and that violation of this law shall be met with a fine not less than fifty cents, nor more than ten dollars, or by from one-half day to five days imprisonment, or by both."

"Be it enacted, That any citizen found guilty of cruelty to animals shall be fined not less than five dollars nor more than twenty-five dollars."

"The right of suffrage is hereby extended to all citizens over twelve years of age without distinction of sex."

With the passage of this last act there is connected a little story which may give an insight into the workings of the Junior Republic, and which may show its similarity with conditions in the greater Republic. The girls one day awakened to the fact that they would like to vote. They accordingly petitioned Congress, and, after a hard fight, succeeded in having the bill passed. An influential boy, however, who was an especial favorite with the girls, used

his persuasive powers with them, and, chiefly by repeated assertions that it "was not nice for girls to vote," induced most of them to sign a counterpetition to the president against signing the bill. The bill was vetoed and the movement for universal suffrage for that time came to an end. A heavy poll tax, however, was levied soon after, and since girls have heads as well as boys the tax fell upon them with equal or greater severity. Accordingly another campaign of persuasion and education was entered upon and the bill became a law. The state law against swearing is also on the Republic's statute books, and, like all other laws, is rigidly enforced.

Comprising among its citizens boys and girls of most unfavorable parentage, education and environment, it is but natural that the Republic's police and judicial departments should be alert and vigorous; and alert and vigorous they most assuredly are. To be a member of the police force is the early and abiding dream of the average New York boy's life, and the applicants for this position in the Republic were so numerous that the test of a civil service examination was resorted to in order to cut down the number. The examination speedily accomplished its purpose; but it was effective also in implanting in the minds of some of the unsuccessful applicants their first strong desire to obtain the rudiments of an English education. This effect was summed up by one of them as follows: "I don't play hooky this winter, you bet! I'll come back here next year and git to be a cop!" The successful applicants are given the policeman's uniform—a blue shirt, black cap with gold braid and lettering, a policeman's belt and club, and a German silver shield with the word "Police" engraved upon it. Their salary amounts, on the average, to that of the skilled laborer. They are commanded by a chief, who divides them into platoons in charge of roundsmen. A flagrant failure to fulfill their duties meets with dismissal from the force and a fine. Their position is no sinecure,

since they are expected to quell disturbances at the risk of physical injury in attempting to make an arrest, and cowardice in such cases meets with dismissal and disgrace. The policemen are protected by the provision that any citizen resisting an officer is subject to a heavy fine or imprisonment, or both. The consequence is that, all things considered, there is a remarkable deference paid to the policeman, be he ever so small. This deference is extended to them, not only within the limits of the Republic, but also outside its borders. This was evidenced when some youths seceded from the Republic, and before they were overtaken by the police, had escaped to a distance of fifteen miles. They were just sitting down to dinner in a benevolent farmer's household when the officers arrived, and were commanded by them to return immediately, which command, in spite of the farmer's protest, was obeyed at once. The police are given the privilege of using their clubs for defence if necessary, but such cases are rigidly investigated. Be it said to the credit of these youthful policemen, that only once in two years has this privilege been resorted to, and that in the most justifiable instance.

When arrested the prisoner is taken to the police station, and a record is made of the arrest. If court is in session at the time the prisoner is at once taken before the magistrate. If it is not court hour and the offence is a minor one, he deposits a sum of money, or secures a bondsman for his appearance at the next session; but if unable to do either, he is locked up in the station house until court convenes. When the prisoner is brought before the magistrate for some minor offence he receives a regular police court trial, and is fined a slight amount, imprisoned for a few hours or a day, or discharged at the discretion of the judge,—at present a boy of sixteen. A prisoner charged with a serious offence is held for the grand jury, which is composed of boys also, and if they bring in an indictment against him, his trial is fixed for a few days later. He is then arraigned before

the criminal judge, who is now also a youth in his teens. This office was filled at first by a graduate student of law in Cornell University, but has been occupied for some time, like all other positions in the Republic, by a Junior citizen. The district attorney conducts the case for the people, and the prisoner has counsel for himself, if he be able to hire one, or, if not, is assigned one by the court. A jury of boys and girls is then secured, the trial proceeds in due form, witnesses are produced by each side, the counsel sum up, and the judge delivers his charge. The jury retires in charge of a court officer, and after due deliberation, return with the verdict. If the verdict be guilty the prisoner is sentenced to hard labor and imprisonment, or, as the boys say, "is put on the gang" for a period of time, ranging from half a day to six days, according to the offence. He is reduced to the grade of a convict, taken in charge by the keeper, his civilian's clothing is replaced by the prison uniform, which is made of bed ticking, with the stripes running around in the usual fashion. The convicts are known only by number, they cannot speak to any one during their term of imprisonment, and are locked in a cell at all times, except when their keeper has them out at work. They are obliged to work all day long, receiving no pay for their labor, and live on the plainest fare. "This is a severe punishment," says Mr. George, "but we have severe cases sometimes to deal with. I don't like this prison part, of course, but there are several hundred other things in the world at large which we do not like, but which seem to be essential. We could have made the prison part milder, to be sure, but then they would have formed a very wrong impression of the actual State Prison, and we do not wish them to glean the impression that a penal institution is a kind of picnic ground."

As to the effects of the prison system they seem to have been excellent. For instance, here is one boy's opinion of it, expressed upon his release: "If dat's what Sing Sing

is, you bet I haint goin' to git dere." And again "I've figgered it out and it costs more to be bad den good. Youse has to work harder and git no pay; sleep in a cell and git bread 'n water 'n soup an' be follered wid a gun an' hev all de blokes in de Republic down on youse, if you are bad. If youse is good, youse only hev to work ez hard ez in de prison an' git de biggest money in de camp, an' wid dat youse kin sleep in de best room in de hotel an' eat de finest feed, an' de girls an' fellers don't git down on youse like dey do if youse a prisoner. I figgered dat all out one night in de cell an' I made up me mind dat I can't afford to be bad an' I'me goin' to try now to git to de top." This sort of reasoning will appear to most readers of the ANNALS, no doubt, as a rather low sanction for good conduct; but we must remember that high individual, as well as social morality, comes slowly and step by step; and surely even this stage of thinking is a long step in advance, and often leads to higher things. The young man who made this calculation, for instance, became an industrious, law-abiding citizen, and was eventually elected speaker of the House of Representatives.

It is encouraging to note, too, that there was a striking decrease in the number of convicts as the season advanced. Thirty-two were placed on the "gang" during the first half of last summer, and only eight during the second half. The trials are not only interesting in themselves, but the solemnity, gravity and earnestness of the judge and all parties concerned are evidence of the fact that they are regarded in no frivolous light, but have taken their due importance in the minds of the citizens. Another encouraging fact is that boys who have been indifferent or insolent in the presence of an adult magistrate have been impressed at once when brought before a jury of their peers, and several of the most hardened have broken down and wept when sentenced by their boy judges. Indeed Mr. George told me of an actual case of attempted suicide on the part of a prisoner newly sentenced.

As in our own Republic, there is behind the Junior Republic's legislative and judicial departments a well organized militia, including all of the boy citizens. Between 6 and 7.30 a. m. and 5.30 and 6.30 p. m., six days in the week, the boys are put through the course of evolutions and involutions known as a military drill. When I visited the Republic the fields were covered with snow, and whatever else the drill may result in, it was productive at that time of a large amount of physical exercise.

There is a vast amount of enthusiasm for everything American in this miniature Republic, and it is sought to direct this into channels of patriotism and love for the big Republic by elaborate ceremonies when raising and lowering the "Stars and Stripes," by singing patriotic songs and declaiming patriotic addresses.

I have dwelt somewhat *in extenso* upon the governmental part of the Republic's life, because the experiment is a most interesting one in the direction of applying the American idea of self-government to the control of boys and girls, many of whom have been pronounced incorrigible; and because the success met with in the enforcement of good conduct affords much encouragement to those who believe in the truth and efficiency of that idea.

Turning from the government to industry, we find quite a diversity of pursuits, and many features of the big Republic's industrial system. At first, industry was carried on by means of industrial classes, the citizens being enrolled in them, and paid according to the number of hours spent in the acquisition of technical knowledge. But now, contracts for the performance of certain tasks are sold by the government to citizens, who must employ their own laborers, and assume the responsibility of loss or profit. The wages paid are from fifty to seventy cents a day, and the labor day is from 8.30 to 12.00. The forty-eight acres in the farm are put to very good use, and farming or trucking is supplemented by landscape gardening. The class

system was done away with and the contract system substituted in accordance with Mr. George's aim to introduce into the Republic as many of the conditions of ordinary life as is possible; and now that each citizen must assume the responsibility of obtaining employment, a long step has been made in the direction of *laissez faire*. It is true that all industrial tasks instead of a certain few, are still looked upon as public work. The contracts sold by the government are many and varied. For instance, one boy has purchased the privilege of giving to the boy citizens their weekly bath, the taking of which is enforced by fine and imprisonment; another boy has purchased the privilege of conducting a barber shop; several have the contract of providing lodgings for the citizens and of furnishing their meals. The hotels, as they are called, are of three grades, from the Hotel Waldorf, on the second floor of the main building, where the millionaires sleep, and pay twenty-five cents per night for the privilege of having a tastily furnished room to themselves, to the lowest class of lodgings in the attic, where the unsuccessful business men or the idlers must take up their quarters, at ten cents a night. If the citizen has no money to pay for lodgings he must pass the night in the station house, and in the morning is arrested for vagrancy and made to work out the fine imposed. Each hotel keeper must maintain order in his establishment, and is arrested and fined for a failure to do so. He must call in the police to quell disturbances, eject disorderly guests, or refuse to receive those who are likely to become such. He must also hire servants and keep his establishment clean and presentable, or be fined by the inspector for failing to do so. The inspector is employed by the government, and makes his rounds twice daily, accompanied by Mrs. George, who fines the inspector if he fails to discover any faults of omission or commission. A small boy of fourteen was proprietor of the restaurant during my visit, and a most business-like boy he was. The tables in

his establishment are divided into three classes: those where fifteen cents a meal is charged, and where the masses—but not the unwashed masses—take their meals; those where twenty-five cents a meal is charged, and which are called the Applicants' Tables, because they are used by citizens who have not yet proved by their manners that they deserve to be admitted to the third class of tables, known as Aristocrats' Tables. This arrangement is rather undemocratic, to be sure, but it is relied upon, and with good reason, as a means of cultivating the ways of polite society. The utmost of good form and politeness prevail at the Aristocrats' Tables, and even more of it, if that be possible, at the Candidates' Tables; and even at the lowest class of tables, although there is sometimes a superfluity of boisterous mirth, there is, on the whole, a degree of order which is remarkable when the character and age of the guests are considered. Mr. and Mrs. George regularly take their meals at the restaurant, and share precisely the same kinds of food as that furnished to the citizens. Fortunately the restaurant proprietor is able to employ the services of an adult cook, but his assistant cooks and waiters are engaged from among the citizens. In addition to the numerous contracts of this character which are let by the government, many other employments have sprung up. The boys become carpenters, retail venders of fruits, candies and other commodities dear to children's hearts, public officials, lawyers, and skilled laborers of various kinds. The girls turn to sewing, clothes patching, stocking darning and housework. Everything which is worn, eaten or otherwise enjoyed must be bought by the citizens and paid for. Once a week pay-day comes and with it a general squaring up of accounts with the government and between the citizens. The money used is made of round tin discs, stamped with the Republic's name, and corresponding in size and amount with United States one dollar, fifty cents, twenty-five cents, ten cents, five cents, and one cent pieces. It is current, of

course, only within the Republic, the various supplies of food and clothing being contributed by the farmers and churches of the surrounding region, and by an association of benevolent people in New York City. Twenty-five hundred dollars in cash and sixteen hundred dollars worth of provisions were contributed last year. It is the ideal of course to make the children's labor productive of a good deal more wealth than has yet been possible, and to make the Republic more nearly self-sustaining. Meanwhile the children themselves get nothing which they do not earn. Some fall to lower and lower kinds of food and clothing, or climb to higher and higher lodgings, until they become paupers and are fed at government expense on bread and water, a provision passed by Congress itself, the author of the measure declaring that "A feller wot won't work shan't eat." Chronic pauperism is dealt with by the government, which enforces labor, and rewards very sparingly, until the lesson is learned that it does not "pay" to be a pauper, any more than to be a criminal. Some take the other road, and amass sufficient wealth to enjoy meals at "Delmonico's," and a room in the "Waldorf," or to invest it in various business enterprises, even to the extent of becoming a banker. The banker receives money on deposit, loans it on interest or invests it in some enterprise of his own. Sometimes confidence in the bank is lost, a run on it is made, and it is forced to close its doors, just as in the big world outside,—although the banker usually stands a series of lawsuits, instead of making a hurried trip abroad.

When the summer citizens return to their homes in the autumn, a public sale of contributed clothing, food, and sundry commodities is held, and those who have saved a surplus invest it in things suitable for their own needs and those of their parents and brothers or sisters. Those who have squandered their money on luxuries, or failed to save any, return home empty handed, and sometimes in a decidedly tattered condition, much to their own and their

relatives' dissatisfaction, but it is to be hoped to their permanent enlightenment. The industrious and the thrifty, on the other hand, carry home with them supplies of potatoes and other vegetables which suffice for their families' consumption during several succeeding months.

The economic questions which are continually arising are very similar to those which have long puzzled the heads of American citizens. For instance, at one time the government was too lavish in payment for work done under contract; the currency became inflated, prices increased four, five and even ten-fold, speculation was rife, and then came a panic, followed by a period of financial depression and general ruin. The question, how to return to a "gold basis," was long and earnestly debated, but probably the answer to it can yield American Congressmen no enlightenment. Another question which arose was that of foreign competition and protection to home industries. Congress at one time passed a law permitting citizens who paid the government five dollars for the privilege, to go outside of the Republic's borders. These citizens brought back with them apples and sundry other commodities which had been given them in the course of their travels, and proceeded to undersell the regular venders of those commodities. This caused much dissatisfaction, and Congress, after considering a variety of plans for solving the problem, drifted unconsciously into the system of a protective tariff. When such problems arise it is Mr. George's policy to leave to the boys the solution of them, his aim being to fix upon the citizens themselves the responsibility for their own acts, and to permit them to learn by experience.

Naturally the mental development of the citizens is a desideratum, and Mr. George's plan of education is, to say the least, a novel one. It is for the government to employ one or two of the oldest and most matured citizens to act in the capacity of schoolmasters. Questions are obtained by them from grammars, arithmetics, geographies and other

text-books, and distributed amongst the citizens, who are enrolled in appropriate classes. The answers to these questions must be obtained from suitable books and written upon paper in a prescribed form. They are then given to the schoolmasters, who examine them, and accept or reject them, acceptance meaning the payment of a certain sum of money to the author of the answers, and rejection meaning no pecuniary reward. The schoolmasters and the work presented to them are subjected to investigation by the inspector. In this way a new method of furnishing employment to the citizens is secured in those seasons when out-door work is relatively scarce, and the acquirement of an education is sought to be made dependent upon the acquisition of daily subsistence. From the industrial point of view the method is successful, and from the educational point of view it results in familiarity with certain facts and the cultivation of a certain degree of accuracy and order; whether it will result in an education is a question which only further experience can answer. Some of the citizens are sent to public schools in the vicinity, and two of the youths are attending the neighboring high school, preparatory to entering Cornell University. The report of their instructors as to the character of work done under them determines the amount of their remuneration. One interesting development, of the educational system is what is known as the college. This means a weekly lecture to the assembled citizens by one of their number who has been appointed for the detailed investigation of a specific topic. His information is secured by a patient research in the well-appointed library, which has been contributed by a benevolent gentleman, and which is housed in one of the brightest, most tastefully decorated rooms to be met with anywhere. In addition to school and college, literary and musical entertainments are frequent, and in the evenings there are home-like meetings and pleasant talks around the library fireside. The spiritual welfare of the children is also looked

after most carefully and devotedly, morning and evening prayers being held at the Republic, and the children attending Sunday services in the churches in the neighboring town.

Life at the Republic is not all politics, work and study. Mr. George's original idea was to bring into the lives of the children of the slums some of the brightness and happiness which surrounds children in more favorable circumstances, and he has not by any means lost sight of this idea. The prevailing spirit of good humor and evident happiness at once impresses the visitor. Athletics are indulged in. Baseball and football teams have been organized; the snow-clad hills afford coasting, and a neighboring stream skating in winter and swimming in summer. Modern athletics are not complete unless accompanied by a "yell," and this important feature is not wanting at the Republic. Their "yell" may be of interest, as it is as musical as most of its kind, and gives us instructive glimpses of the philosophy of life which prevails at the Republic. It is as follows:

"Hear ye this!
Down with the boss; down with the tramp;
Down with the pauper; down with the scamp;
Up with the freeman; up with the wise;
Up with the thrifty; on to the prize;
Who are we? why, we are,
Citizens of the G. J. R.:
We love our land and we would die,
To keep Old Glory in the sky."

The citizens are placed in Mr. George's care, either through sentence of city magistrates, or agreement on the part of the parents. Most of them are between the ages of twelve and fifteen years. The few who fall below this limit, accepted because of unusual circumstances, are placed in the care of guardians, that is, boy or girl citizens older than themselves, who are held responsible for their industry, cleanliness, and general good conduct. These youthful guardians are expected to use persuasion, and, if necessary,

mild coercion, in order to cultivate good habits on the part of their wards; and, lest at any time the guardian should use undue severity, a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was formed on their own initiative by other citizens of the Republic. There has been no occasion, however, for activity on the part of this society, the guardians being monuments of long-suffering and patience. Their ideas of the rearing of young children are naturally of much interest and of surprising wisdom.

Perhaps the most noteworthy fact in connection with the George Junior Republic is that boys and girls of the character and antecedents of the citizens are so quickly caught up into the spirit of industry and good order which pervades the Republic. This desirable result is due, doubtless, to the responsibility which is placed upon them and to the confidence which is manifested toward them; but also, and doubtless chiefly, to the silent and unobtrusive, but all-pervading influence for the good of Mr. George and his wife.

If we are consistent believers in the American political theory, we must admit that the machinery adopted by the founders of the George Junior Republic for carrying on their work is the best which the mind of man has developed. But mere machinery is useless without a motive force, and this motive force is largely supplied by the clever brain and kindly heart of Mr. George. In this experiment, as in all other social service, Mrs. Browning's dictum is true, that

" . . . It takes a soul
To move a body: it takes a high souled man
To move the masses—even to a cleaner sty:
It takes the ideal to blow a hair's breadth off
The dust of the actual.—Ah, your Fouriers failed
Because not poets enough to understand
That life develops from within."

WILLIAM I. HULL.

Swarthmore College, Pa.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ACADEMY.

(Continued from p. 424, Vol. IX of the ANNALS.)

A general meeting of the Academy was held in Philadelphia on the twenty-first and twenty-second of April. The meeting consisted of several sessions. The Fortieth Session was held on the evening of April 21, 1897, at the New Century Club, Philadelphia. It was the opening session of the general meeting, and the vice-president (Dr. Roland P. Falkner), who occupied the chair, opened the proceedings with a brief address, in which the aims and work of the Academy were set forth. The president of the Academy, Professor Edmund J. James, of the University of Chicago, was then introduced. He read a paper upon "Training for Citizenship," which discussed the educational significance of studies in political and social science, and the place of such studies in the organization of the educational system.*

The Forty-first Session was held at 10 a. m. on April 22, at the New Century Club. The session was devoted to a discussion of Foreign Commerce.

It was opened by Mr. George E. Bartol, president of the Philadelphia Bourse, who defined the scope of the discussion and the significance of foreign trade as opposed to domestic trade. The speaker pointed out that problems of foreign trade were not of equal interest to all nations; that in some of them they were overshadowed by many other economic problems, but that to the people of the United States the question was of considerable importance, while as yet we had made little progress in permanently establishing advantageous trade relations with other countries. The experience of Germany was dwelt upon as an illustration of successful competition in foreign countries, in which care and foresight

* A brief abstract of Professor James' address was printed in the *Teacher of May, 1897*, and it will be printed in full in a subsequent issue of the ANNALS.

and a minute study of trade conditions had widely extended foreign commerce.

Professor Emory R. Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania, spoke on "American Manufactures in Foreign Markets." Professor Johnson entered upon an analysis of the foreign trade of the United States. He showed how the share of American manufactures in the export trade was increasing of late years, and discussed the conditions under which an enlargement of trade might be looked for in this direction.

The Hon. Robert Adams, Jr., member of Congress, spoke upon the "Opening of Foreign Markets to American Goods." He dwelt upon the necessity for proper postal facilities, for more ample transportation facilities, for an improvement of our consular service, and upon reciprocal treaties. He enlarged on each of these topics, showing the advantages which would accrue to the nation were a consistent and enlightened policy pursued in regard to them.

The discussion was to have been continued by Dr. William Pepper, President of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum, who expected to speak upon "The Promotion of Foreign Trade through a Systematic Study of Commercial Relations." But Dr. Pepper being unavoidably detained, the discussion was then thrown open. An animated debate ensued in which, in addition to the speakers whose names have already been mentioned, Mr. Anson Wolcott, of Indiana; Dr. E. T. Devine, of New York, and Dr. Edmund Cobbe, of Philadelphia, took part.

The Forty-second Session was held at 3 p. m. at the New Century Club. The subject for consideration was Immigration. The president introduced Dr. Joseph H. Senner, United States Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York, who read a paper upon "Immigration," published in the current number of the ANNALS.

Mr. Sydney George Fisher, of the Philadelphia Bar, discussed the question of immigration from the standpoint of

nationality and national unity. He called attention to the fact that those nations which contributed most to the world's progress were homogeneous in character. The policy of the United States had not always been dictated by these considerations, although in our early history they appealed forcibly to the founders of the Republic. Mr. Fisher read extracts from the writings of Washington, Jefferson and Madison, in which the dangers of an unrestricted immigration were set forth in unmistakable terms.

Professor Roland P. Falkner, of the University of Pennsylvania, continued the discussion. He was in accord with the previous speakers in regard to the desirability of restricting immigration, and called particular attention to the method upon which such restrictions should be based. By figures drawn from the statistical reports of the government, he sought to show that the social evils attributed to the foreign element in our population were to be regarded as outgrowths of the comparatively low economic standard of this class in the population, and that the principle upon which the restriction of immigration should be sought, must be looked for in economic conditions.

In the discussion which followed Dr. Senner elaborated at some length the plan for a land and labor clearing-house, which was suggested at the conclusion of his paper. Such an establishment would be designed to give information to intending settlers and also to be a medium through which they might obtain labor.

The Forty-third Session was held at 8 p. m. in the auditorium of the Drexel Institute. The meeting was devoted to the subject of Banking. The principal speaker was Hon. James H. Eckels, Comptroller of the Currency, who delivered an address upon "The National Banking System." He sketched the beginnings of banking in the United States; the experience of the first and second United States banks, and of state banking. At somewhat greater length, he recounted the history of the national banking system and

discussed the advantages which had accrued to the community through the existence of these financial institutions.*

The discussion was opened by Professor R. M. Breckenridge, of Haverford College, who pointed out some defects of the national banking system, particularly in regard to reserve and discount rates. The discussion was continued by Professor Joseph French Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania, who criticized the notes of the national banks as not fulfilling the functions which are properly demanded of bank notes, and assimilating too closely to government issues.†

The discussion was closed by Mr. Eckels, and, after a resolution of thanks to the Trustees of Drexel Institute, the meeting adjourned.

* The address of Mr. Eckels is printed in full in the *Bankers' Monthly*, Chicago, for May, 1897.

† The remarks of Professor Johnson are printed in full in the *Bankers' Monthly*, Chicago, for June, 1897.

PERSONAL NOTE.

London.—Mr. John Biddulph Martin, President of the Royal Statistical Society, died at Las Palmas, Canary Islands, March 20, 1897. He was born in 1841, and was educated at Harrow, and Exeter College, Oxford, where he graduated with classical honors. After leaving the university he entered the famous banking firm in Lombard street which bears the name of Martin's Bank, and which claims to be two hundred years older than the Bank of England. Mr. Martin was actively interested in promoting philanthropic and scientific efforts. He was a member of the British Economic Association, the Institute of Bankers, and many other associations. For many years he was treasurer of the Royal Statistical Society, and at the time of his death its president. He was treasurer of the International Statistical Institute from its foundation. In addition to this book, "The Grasshopper in Lombard Street," an interesting account of the banking house with which he was connected, he published a number of papers in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, and the *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*. The latter include papers on "Our Gold Coinage," "Bank Notes," "Movements of Coin and its Equivalents," and others.

BOOK DEPARTMENT.

NOTES.

IT IS PERHAPS not reasonable to expect that the arguments used by a "Defence Association" should be scientific or consistent. The aim of such an organization is to create public opinion or capture votes, and for such a purpose error is quite as effective as truth. Nevertheless, the honest student of finance must feel a bit disheartened when he reads the twenty-four pamphlets issued by the British Gold Standard Defence Association, and notes the inconsistencies, fallacies and *non sequiturs* which the exigencies of "defence" are apparently supposed to justify. If the British public reads these leaflets, it is probably ready to support gold, but its understanding must be in a dense fog on the money question. The list of authors includes such names as Lord Farrer, H. D. McLeod, Lord Playfair, Sir John Lubbock, G. Shaw-Lefevre and Henry Labouchere.

Nowhere in these pamphlets does one discover a fair statement of the position and arguments of the so-called International Bimetallist. On the contrary, each author appears to have a different view of the meaning of bimetallism and opposes it with different arguments. Mr. McLeod shows by reference to the history of bimetallism in France that it is a policy discredited by experience, unsupported by a scintilla of evidence either from theory or fact. Leaflet No. 6, however, condemns international bimetallism because it is a wholly new thing both in theory and practice. Several writers object to a larger use of silver on the ground that the public does not like to employ it as a medium of exchange on account of its bulk. Gold, because of its great value and small bulk, it is pointed out, has been selected by the civilized world as the metal best qualified to serve as money, and Lord Playfair in pamphlet No. 13 declares that the great bulk of the \$676,000,000 gold in the United States is circulating in trade, whereas our silver coin is stored in the cellars of the Treasury. Mr. Ottomar Haupt, however, in the pamphlet on "The Scarcity of Gold" explains the large accumulation of gold in the banks of Europe and the United States by the declaration that the public does not want to use gold, but prefers paper money.

These are samples of the sort of information and argument which one finds in these leaflets defending the gold standard.

There is throughout an absence of candor. For instance, Shaw-Lefevre, while attacking the claim that India's export trade has been benefited by the fall in the price of silver, points triumphantly to the fact that India's exports in 1895 were relatively small, notwithstanding the low price of silver. Now, as a matter of fact, India has not been upon the silver standard since 1893, and changes in the price of silver have not been reflected in the purchasing power of the Indian currency. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre makes no note of this important fact nor does he call any attention to the fact that the great fall of silver in 1890, when India was upon the silver standard, was followed by a 100 per cent increase in the exports of wheat from India. Sir John Lubbock denies emphatically that silver has been demonetized in recent years, and he supports his denial by showing that large amounts of silver have been coined in Europe and the United States in the last twenty years and are now in use as money. He apparently has no conception of the difference between the use of a metal as money, or as a standard of value, and its use as the material out of which credit money is made. In Europe and the United States silver is no more money to-day than is paper.

On the whole, these Gold Standard pamphlets deserve little commendation from any point of view. It is doubtful if they convert or convince the ignorant, and they are liable to injure the cause of the gold standard with men who think. In logic, candor and information, they are far below the "Sound Currency" pamphlets issued by the Reform Club of New York City.

TOGETHER WITH THE Jubilee Edition of John Morley's "Life of Richard Cobden,"* noticed in the March number of the ANNALS,† T. Fisher Unwin, has brought out an interesting volume of free trade essays, sympathetically introduced to the public by Mr. Richard Gowing. These consist of three essays which appeared in *Cosmopolis* for June, 1896, by Henry Dunckley, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu and Theodore Barth, the speeches of the Hon. Leonard Courtney and of the Right Hon. Charles Pelham Villiers, delivered at the Cobden Club dinner last summer and the address of the club to the latter veteran statesman. All of these essays are favorable to free trade but there is not much of jubilation in the account of "Richard Cobden; His Work and the Outcome of his Ideas," supplied by

**Richard Cobden and the Jubilee of Free Trade*. With an introduction by Richard Gowing. Pp. 246. Price, 3s. 6d. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.

† Vol. ix, p. 272.

Paul Leroy-Beaulieu. In the opinion of the well-known French economist free trade has been losing ground since the death of Cobden in 1866. Even in England he perceives symptoms of the degeneration which is strongly marked on the Continent and in this country.

The other writers have no misgivings either in regard to the beneficence of a free trade policy or of the ultimate triumph of free trade ideas. Taken as a whole the volume contains in readable form some of the most important arguments in favor of England's chosen policy and much evidence as to the beneficial results that have followed the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846.

PROFESSOR GIDDINGS IS to be congratulated upon the unusually hearty reception accorded to his "Principles of Sociology." A French translation has already appeared and the book is now being translated into Spanish by Professor Adolpho Posada of the University of Oviedo. The author's skill in the use of clear and concise language, combined with a happy style, makes his work deservedly popular. He has, however, added materially to its usefulness in the class-room by the preparation of a syllabus entitled "The Theory of Socialization."* The teacher who desires to use the "Principles" in class-work, will find the syllabus with its definite propositions of very great value. It will enable him to combine so much of Professor Giddings' theory as he may desire with lectures of his own, without any inconvenience whatsoever. It will add also materially to a clear conception of Professor Giddings' theoretical position. In many ways the statements in the syllabus are clearer than the corresponding passages in the "Principles," and one can see much more easily the proportions of the whole work and where the author desires to lay the greatest emphasis.

The first chapter on "The Modes of Purposive Activity," is almost entirely new and adds greatly to the value of the whole book. The chapter on "The Social Mind and Social Control" is the one which, it is to be hoped, the author will work over and restate in the future. In reply to various criticisms of the use which Professor Giddings makes of the term "Social Mind," he has modified it in a way to make it a less useful and consistent concept in his whole

* *The Theory of Socialization.* A Syllabus of Sociological Principles for the Use of College and University Classes. With References to the Third Edition of "Principles of Sociology." By FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS, A. M. Pp. xiv, 47. Price, 60 cents. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897.

system than the same ideas combined a little differently might be. Professor Giddings has been exceptionally free from the confusion in many sociological treatises arising from an injudicious use of biological terminology. While no one will accuse him any longer of supposing that there is a social ego or "mysterious transcendental being which manifests the phenomena of the social mind," he should free his students from any possibility of misunderstanding, by giving us some new term for "social mind."

In an appendix to the present book, the author has worked out an exceedingly interesting table on the basis of census figures, illustrating the application of his theory in relation to the degree of kinship in the population of the United States. When in time students have worked out these formulæ on the basis of other statistical reports and for other countries as well as the United States, a very interesting test of the accuracy of Professor Giddings' reasoning will have been made.

*Le Malentendu Monétaire** by M. Adolphe Houdard, is a keen criticism of gold monometallism and bimetallism at a fixed ratio by one who is not an apostle of either theory. The claims and pretensions of the monometallists are subjected to a searching investigation. Inasmuch as bimetallism, in the eyes of the author, consists in the simultaneous employment of both gold and silver, he finds that the monometallist contention ignores facts and places before us an ideal which is impossible of attainment. On the other hand he finds equal fault with the fixity of ratio which forms a cardinal point in the bimetallist creed. This then, is the monetary misunderstanding that the choice of policy is restricted to these two policies. Many years ago Joseph Garnier suggested that gold and silver circulate concurrently without a fixed ratio between them. To this suggestion the author returns. In some detail, he develops the possibility of a simultaneous existence of a gold standard based upon the *louis* and a silver standard based upon the *franc*, one destined for the larger payments of mercantile life, the other for the smaller ones. Up to the extent of perhaps five louis, there should be a legal relation between values, in order that commerce be not impeded by difficulties of making change. That such a plan would profoundly modify commercial usages, the author is free to admit, but would, he declares, be beneficial. It is difficult to see how such a proposition if practicable would meet the fundamental

* *Le Malentendu Monétaire*. By ADOLPHE HOUDARD. Pp. 48. Price, 2.50 fr. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie, 1897.

objection of the bimetallists that the gold basis leads infallibly under present conditions to an appreciation of the monetary unit.

STUDENTS OF SCIENTIFIC socialism and especially those interested in Karl Marx will be glad to know that a convenient and cheap edition of one of Marx's earliest books has just appeared. "*Misère de la Philosophie*"* is in many respects one of the most interesting and typical of Marx's publications. It was more than a reply to Proudhon. It was written originally in French in the winter of 1846 and 1847, almost at the beginning of Marx's literary activity. Engels wrote a long preface for a German translation which was published in 1892, in which he interpreted the essay as of value to German socialists as a criticism of the position of Rodbertus. This preface is reproduced in a French translation in the present edition and three appendices of more than passing interest are also included in this volume; one gives a French translation of an article by Marx on Proudhon, giving his personal estimate of the man. This was printed originally in the *Social Demokrat* in January, 1865. The second appendix contains an extract from Marx's work entitled "*Zur Kritik der Politischen Economie*," in which Marx shows that Proudhon's notion concerning the organization of exchange in credit banks originated with John Gray, and was elaborated by him in the book entitled, "*The Social System, etc., a Treatise on the Principle of Exchange*" (Edinburgh, 1831). The third appendix is a lecture by Marx on Free Trade, delivered in French at Brussels, January, 1848.

The essay on Proudhon, which covers about two hundred pages of this small edition, is full of spirit and in many places shows Marx at his best. His wide reading and ready use of material made him a rather formidable critic, while his impatience with any one who did not agree with his one-sided interpretation of history made him unfair. Many things in this early essay do not tally with his later views as expressed in his work on "*Capital*;" but the strong points as well as the limitations of his method are well illustrated in this earlier work.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT has issued Part II of the Consular Reports on "*Money and Prices in Foreign Countries*."† It describes the

* *Misère de la Philosophie. Réponse à la Philosophie de la Misère de M. Proudhon.* By KARL MARX. Avec une Préface de Friedrich Engels. Pp. 291. Price, 3.50 fr. Paris: Giard & Brière, 1896.

† *Money and Prices in Foreign Countries.* (Special Consular Reports, Vol. xiii, Part II) Issued from Bureau of Statistics, Department of State. Pp. v, 154. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897.

monetary systems, the foreign trade, wages and prices in some twenty countries of the world, including Brazil, China, India, Japan, Peru, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and Norway. The reports are of unequal merit, but the volume as a whole will prove of great value to the student of finance and foreign trade.

MR. MAURICE L. MUHLEMAN has brought out a second edition of his very useful "Monetary Systems of the World"* in which the financial and banking statistics of the United States and of other countries are brought down to 1896. Recent bond issues by the government are described in detail as well as recent important events relating to monetary legislation and to the progress of international bimetallism. Mr. Muhleman takes his facts and statistics from official sources and his volume will be found exceedingly helpful to those who wish to have in condensed form a compendium of monetary information.

A RECENT ADDITION to the series of theses on the taxing systems of different states brought out by students of Professor Seligman of Columbia University is an essay by Mr. F. H. Noble, on "Taxation in Iowa."† The historical portion of this monograph is decidedly scrappy and unsatisfactory, but the account of the existing taxing system is ample and extracts from the laws now in force, which constitute the body of the essay, will prove serviceable to students who do not wish to consult the original statutes. The chapter on the "General Property Tax" suffers from a lack of careful revision more than any other portion of the essay. Little attempt is made to show how this important feature of the taxing system has developed or to explain the interesting deviations from the principle of a general property tax which Iowa has introduced. If the author had given some attention in his concluding chapter to the actual defects in the taxing system of Iowa as a working system and suggested reforms in harmony with the historical development of that system, the reader would gladly forego the defence of direct and collateral inheritance taxes which that chapter contains.

* *Monetary Systems of the World.* By MAURICE L. MUHLEMAN. Pp. 239. New York: Chas. H. Nicoll, 1897.

† *Taxation in Iowa: Historical Sketch, Present Status and Suggested Reforms.* By F. H. NOBLE, A. M., LL. B. Pp. 121. Price, \$1.00. St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Co. 1897.

THE WELL-KNOWN DICTIONARY of political economy edited by MM. Léon Say and Joseph Chailley-Bert has recently been brought down to date through the publication of a supplement.* The editors at first contemplated a new edition, the earlier one having been exhausted some time since, but were dissuaded from this idea by the representations of the purchasers of the dictionary that a supplement would answer the same purpose and save expense to both publishers and public. Among the new articles we note biographies of Cairnes, Hegel, David Hume, Jevons, Leibnitz, Leslie, Roscher, Léon Say, Spinoza, Thorold Rogers and West, discussions of the English School since J. S. Mill, Christian Socialism, Cereals, Railroads, etc., all of which are welcome additions, Mr. Henry Higgs contributes the article on the English School which contains a very fair-minded review of recent English work in economics. In general style the "Supplement" is uniform with the "*Dictionnaire*," and its articles compare very favorably with those of the earlier publication.

THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY has recently issued a Bulletin (No. 8) dealing with state finance statistics.† The receipts, expenditures, endowment funds and indebtedness for the years 1890 and 1895 are compared. Taking the aggregate of state budgets, the year 1890 shows a surplus of receipts over expenditures, whereas 1895 shows a deficiency. "The total receipts for the former year (1890) were \$111,195,003, of the latter (1895) \$124,925,920, an increase of about 12 per cent, while the expenditures meantime rose from \$105,904,997 to \$129,129,225 or 22 per cent." The report points out the very interesting fact that the total expenditures by the forty-five states in 1895 "were barely a fourth of those of the United States Treasury, while New York City alone spent 40 per cent as much as all the states combined." Of the total state expenditures, 37 per cent was for educational purposes. On the side of receipts, the most important changes are to be found in the increased returns from taxation of corporations and the inheritance tax. The former has risen from \$12,354,864 in 1890 to \$16,908,112 in 1895; an increase of 38 per cent. Inheritance taxes rose from \$1,886,509 to \$4,016,841 during the same period. The tendency seems to be toward special taxes involving the gradual subordination, or even abandonment of

* *Supplément au Nouveau Dictionnaire d'Économie Politique*. By MM. LÉON SAY and JOSEPH CHAILLEY-BERT. Pp. vi, 271. Price, 5 fr. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie, 1897.

† *State Library Bulletin*, Legislation, No. 8, March, 1897. Pp. 54. Price, 10 cents. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1897.

the general property tax, as in the case of Connecticut and Delaware. The indebtedness of the states is being reduced far more rapidly than that of the federal or local governments. The total debt of \$203,804,575 in 1890 was reduced to \$174,027,326 in 1895.

THE FIFTH VOLUME of Traill's "Social England,"* which has lately appeared, carries the narrative along from the accession of George I. to the Battle of Waterloo, and thus covers the formative period in the history of modern England. There are twenty-two contributors to this volume, each considering some different phase of England's social development and the result, as in previous volumes, is a somewhat uneven sketch of the history of the century covered. The economic student will turn first of all to the sections on agriculture written by Mr. Prothero and those on manufacturing written by Mr. Beazley. In the contributions of both these gentlemen will be found a good deal of interesting material not easily accessible elsewhere, but little calculated to modify preconceived opinions in regard to the agricultural and the manufacturing development of England during the last century. The volume is supplied with useful bibliographies, a full table of contents and an excellent index.

THE INTEREST AROUSED by the work of Lombroso and his school, has given rise not only to a large number of volumes devoted to the various aspects of criminal anthropology, but also to two periodicals, one in Italy and one in France, devoted to this field. In Germany the doctrines have made comparatively slow progress, but a widespread interest has been awakened in the problems raised. This now finds expression in a new journal, "*Zeitschrift für Criminalanthropologie, Gefängnisswissenschaft und Prostitutionswesen*," of which the first issue appeared March 20, 1897. The editor is Dr. Walter Wenge, of Berlin, and the contributors comprise the principal criminologists of Germany and Austria. Lombroso and modern criminal anthropology, crime and insanity, the handwriting of criminals and kindred topics drawn from the pathological aspects of human society are discussed in the first issue. The journal will doubtless furnish a useful repository for articles and discussions which must otherwise appear sporadically in legal, medical and psychiatric periodicals.

* *Social England*. A Record of the Progress of the People in Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Science, Literature and Manners from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Edited by H. D. TRAILL, D. C. L. Vol. v. Pp. viii, 636. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896.

REVIEWS.

Studies in Diplomacy. From the French of COUNT BENEDETTI. Pp. lxix, 323. Price, \$3.00. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1896.
An Ambassador of the Vanquished, Viscount Élie de Gontaut-Biron's Mission to Berlin, 1871-1877. By the DUKE DE BROGLIE. Translated, with notes by ALBERT D. VANDAM. Pp. 282. Price, \$3.00. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1896.

In the first of these volumes Count Benedetti takes up again the difficult task—begun in his "*Mission en Prusse in 1871*"—of justifying himself in the eyes of the French people and throwing the blame for the precipitate war of 1870, which many have attached to him, on to the shoulders of Duke de Gramont, Bismarck and William I. Feeling that he has been ill used by those at whose hands he expected at least consideration, his cry is for justice. Much of the book, therefore, is given up to the details of the attempt to place Prince Leopold on the Spanish throne, after Isabella had been forced to abandon it, and of Benedetti's mission to Ems to get William I. to disavow such a proceeding officially. While the spirit of his race is seen on almost every page of his book and no attempt is made to disguise his hatred for Bismarck, his words must be accorded a respectful consideration by the historian. For Benedetti played a leading part in the prologue to the war of 1870, and his views are those of one intimately acquainted with the preliminary stage-setting. His aim is to show that Prussia, and consequently Bismarck, was responsible for that war, that William bore a part of the responsibility, and that events were hastened by the ill-judged attitude and demands of the Duke de Gramont.

He informs us that he knew Bismarck was doing all he could to bring about the war; that he foreshadowed this in his dispatches so far back as 1866, and that he was aware Bismarck was only playing a game of delay in order that a favorable opportunity might be created. And from his statements the inference is natural, that he (Benedetti) fully understood that Bismarck was only using France as a tool to aid in accomplishing his own desire—the unification of Germany.

When the attempt to place Leopold on the Spanish throne became known to de Gramont, Benedetti was immediately ordered to repair to Ems and insist upon King William's directing that Leopold not only reconsider his acceptance but decline the crown. The orders to Benedetti were couched in anything but diplomatic language, and he takes ample occasion to show how he modified their tone when presenting them to William, and at the same time shows his contempt for the immoderate zeal of de Gramont. The day after his arrival at

Ems he obtained an interview with the King, in which he expressed the hope that he would advise Leopold to renounce his intention of accepting the offer made to him. The King's courteous reply was that, having had no hand in the negotiations, he had so far only indicated to Prince Anthony, Leopold's father, that if Leopold accepted he would approve, or if he now felt inclined to reconsider his action and withdraw he would still approve, his only desire being the furtherance of the best interests of international peace and harmony. In subsequent interviews the attitude maintained was always the same, and always with a kingly courtesy and dignity. But when the negotiations between Spain and Prince Anthony had reached such a point, that William deemed it wise to take a further step, he yielded to the persistence of Benedetti so far as to say that he expected a communication from Prince Leopold and that upon its arrival would give a definite answer. This, too, with the air of one having no part in the events, and unaware of what was going on until informed, while all the time not only controlling the negotiations but fixing the time for the public announcement of the results.

Thus put off, de Gramont grows impatient and demands that the King announce his disapproval of Leopold's course; but fearing this is going too far he immediately sends another dispatch to Benedetti requesting that above all the announcement of Leopold's withdrawal be given the stamp of official Prussian sanction by coming first from the King. William promises again to convey such intelligence as is at his command, and on the thirteenth of July authorizes Benedetti to say to his government that Leopold had resigned and that he approved of the act, but this communication came not in audience with the King, as he had promised, but was transmitted through one of his aides-de-camp. Meantime William had carefully arranged matters so that the first announcement should be made in Paris through the Spanish ambassador there, and this was done on the twelfth of July. The excitement was great, and de Gramont finding that he had been outwitted, tried to retrieve the day by demanding through Benedetti that William guarantee that Leopold would not again become a candidate, and through the Prussian ambassador, Werther, that he (William) make a statement that the affair was at an end and that all misunderstandings between the two governments should now cease. To these William replied firmly that the incident must be considered closed. Then came Bismarck's Ems dispatch and the declaration of war.

One rises from a perusal of these pages with the impression that whatever may have been the abilities displayed by de Gramont and Benedetti, they were as puppets in the hands of Bismarck and

William. The latter, indeed, in the conduct of the Leopold episode, betrays a subtle diplomacy that we are more inclined to associate with the Latin than with the Teutonic mind. He not only toyed with Benedetti and de Gramont, but arranged with Princes Anthony and Leopold that the announcement of his resignation should first be made public as the latter's individual act, with which he had no official concern; and that done, he of course had no hesitation in subsequently stamping it with his approval. If the figure of Bismarck is stamped in bold relief on the pages of Count Benedetti's book, his prominence is almost as great in the volume of the Duke de Broglie. M. de Gontaut was called upon by his defeated and humiliated country to represent it at the victorious court of the newly created Emperor. And that he was able to do this with some grace and no little tact, though without previous diplomatic training, speaks well for his abilities. Still, these pages have to do rather with the small talk of diplomacy, for they enlighten us little upon the great events happening in Europe. They serve also to show what an attitude of studied contempt for France Bismarck adopted in his relations with M. de Gontaut. Astounded at her rapid recovery from the disasters of the war, Bismarck for a moment looked with jealous eye on the military preparations that France was making, and made them the pretext for causing M. de Gontaut all sorts of evil quarters of an hour. He assumed the position of big bully, and by refusing to have intercourse with M. de Gontaut, except through an intermediary, who was entrusted with no powers to conclude any negotiations, he showed that, having France once under his heel, he meant to keep her there.

HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

Philadelphia.

The Puritan in England and New England. By EZRA HOYT BYINGTON, D.D. With an Introduction by Alexander McKenzie, D.D. Pp. xl, 406. Price, \$2.00. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1896.

Mr. Byington has, on divers occasions, been asked to read papers before "a number of historical societies, and before students, in colleges and seminaries." These essays, "rewritten and reconstructed, so as to bring them into connection with each other," are now presented to the public as a treatise on certain aspects of Puritanism. The result is a readable book—in large type, with a picture or so, to which a reader may devote a few hours with the comfortable feeling that the history is orthodox, according to Green, Macaulay and Palfrey, and the point of view satisfactory to good Americans.

When one seriously asks: What is the scientific value of this work as a contribution to historical writing, it must candidly be confessed that it cannot be rated very high. While Mr. Byington is, strictly speaking, neither a collector of facts nor an "artist in world-movements," yet his aim is toward the latter. His book is not, in the main, a critical study of the sources of historical information; it does not seek to discover new facts, or criticise received statements; on the contrary it takes its facts generally from well-known authorities and attempts to show their meaning and relations, and to illustrate the conclusions by references here and there to original sources. Excellent as such a purpose may be, its successful accomplishment demands no ordinary equipment. A trite and exasperating criticism of humble monographists in history, often is that they confine their work to dead facts and do not rise to the broader relations and meaning of those facts. To this they rightly reply that such was not their object, they wished merely to furnish material to the artists of history, and that while there is a limit to such division of labor, yet the division is, in this complicated world, absolutely necessary. Mr. Byington, however, has no such excuse to offer; he has avowedly undertaken a piece of broad intricate historical writing; work that requires not only artistic sense and philosophic insight, but a long training in analysis, and a broad acquaintance with the almost infinite details of history. These requirements Mr. Byington does not possess. He is evidently a clergyman and has set about writing history as he writes sermons, that is, topically. Now history can be written topically only by one who possesses back of the separate topics a unified body of knowledge—a unified conception of the general subject. Otherwise we shall have a series of essays, interesting perhaps, but not very valuable, not very true, and, above all, disconnected. Such is the book before us. The author first wrote an essay on the heresy trial of a stout old Puritan, William Pynchon; then he wrote an essay on Puritan ministers in general, and another on the case of Robert Breck. An invitation to Maine probably caused the essay on Northern New England Puritanism, and, it being necessary to have an introductory chapter, that on the Puritan in England was compiled. The result of this is, naturally, not a book but a series of dissertations, on slightly related subjects, but lacking that broad fundamental grasp of the central subject of Puritanism, which its topical treatment absolutely demands.

Moreover, the author's acquaintance with sources of historical information in regard to his subject, is not such as to inspire confidence in his critical judgments. One feels that his broader

conclusions are those of the authorities so copiously quoted: Hallam, Green, Palfrey, Campbell, Neal, and others. When the author himself ventures among original material he evinces that lack of discrimination that characterizes the new comer; for instance, we have placed before us in one breath as authorities, copious extracts from Colonel Hutchinson's letters to his wife, and from Longfellow's "Miles Standish."

Such a book may be interesting, it may even justify publication for certain readers, but it is not a distinct contribution to historical writing. The non-committal words of the introducer, Dr. McKenzie, best characterize the work: "The design of this book is a large one."

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS.

University of Pennsylvania.

The Physiocrats: Six Lectures on the French Économistes of the Eighteenth Century. By HENRY HIGGS. Pp. x, 151. Price, \$1.10. London and New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897.

As the first work in English dealing in a comprehensive way with the Physiocrats, Mr. Higgs' "Lectures," will be welcomed by a wide circle of readers. While they do not add very much to what was already known in regard to the leading doctrines of this school, they do contain a very full and interesting account of the Physiocrats themselves and of the literary history of their ideas.

At the outset the author explains that "critical and doctrinal comment" have been restricted within the narrowest limits, with a view to making the lectures interesting to the somewhat miscellaneous audience for which they were originally prepared. In this endeavor he has been entirely successful. Anecdote and biographical detail help to give a vividness to his characterizations of Mirabeau, Turgot and the other writers of which he treats, while his analysis of the theories of the school is simple and direct. Even Quesnay acquires flesh and blood under his treatment and his "*Tableau économique*" is explained so that the dullest intelligence may understand it.

Starting out with a brief description of the economic condition of France during the first half of the eighteenth century, Mr. Higgs makes Cantillon's "*Essai*," published in 1755, the first literary landmark in the history of Physiocratic ideas. He shows how much Mirabeau's "*L'ami des hommes*" owed to this work and describes the celebrated meeting between that author and Quesnay in July, 1757, which gave the latter his first and most devoted disciple. The

second of the six lectures is devoted to an account of the life and writings of Quesnay and here the leading features of the "agricultural system" are explained. In the third, fourth and fifth lectures an excellent sketch of the growth of the school, of the characters and writings of its principal members and of its opponents is given and abundant references are supplied to enable the student to follow out any special phase of the thought and activity of this interesting group of writers. Turgot's saying, "*Je ne suis point encyclopédiste car je crois en Dieu. Je ne suis point économiste car je ne voudrais pas de roi,*" is quoted and serves to explain more clearly his relation to his contemporaries than pages of description could do. In conclusion Mr. Higgs traces out the "influence of the school" as reflected in the writings of English economists from Adam Smith to Henry George, and in such French writers as J. B. Say and Bastiat and calls attention to the progress made towards the system of liberty and the concentration of the burden of taxation upon land.

The great merits of these lectures lies in the very complete view of the literary history of the Physiocrats which they contain. There is hardly an important writing that is not analyzed or an important writer about whose life and character something interesting is not said. When it comes to the philosophical explanation of the Physiocratic system however, and the appreciation of their services to economic science, the book under review leaves much to be desired. The very profusion of biographical and bibliographical information which is supplied tends to obscure the historical problem which a writer on the Physiocrats should hold steadily in view. Just why did this system of economics attain to the remarkable vogue which it enjoyed from 1760 to 1780? What was peculiar in the situation of France which led her thinkers to give so much attention to social philosophy and to ascribe so much importance to agriculture in the industrial economy they contemplated?

The answers to these questions are contained implicitly in the material which Mr. Higgs has brought together, but he nowhere brings out clearly either the questions or the replies which he himself would make to them. The history of a school of thought is more than an account of individual peculiarities and of individual opinions. In the history of political economy no school has yet arisen which has had so much the character of a religious "sect" as did the Physiocrats. For this there must be some explanation and the critic who will adequately explain this phenomenon and distinguish the permanent element of truth in those systems of political economy which separate out the industry devoted to procuring

subsistence from the mass of human activities will find his audience ready for him. Mr. Higgs does not do this, but the more modest task, which he does undertake, is performed with a care and judgment which make his "Lectures" a valuable contribution to the history of economic theories.

H. R. S.

A Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina. By DAVID F. HOUSTON, A. M. Pp. 175. Price, \$1.25. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896.

This monograph supplies a readable presentation of certain sides of the nullification controversy. The work is not intended as a general history of the subject but rather as a sketch of the internal development of the doctrine in a single state of the Union. The author traces the various stages of the movement from the earliest symptoms of discontent in 1816-1820 down to the frank enunciation of the doctrine in 1833. The chief merit of the monograph lies, not so much in the discovery of new facts—to which indeed the author makes no claim—but rather in showing the intimate connection which existed between the doctrine of nullification and its underlying causes. The institution of slavery rendered impossible the introduction of manufactures into the South and made it dependent for its prosperity on the sale of cotton, a commodity whose price had begun to fall. The older states of the South, therefore, declined in prosperity in competition with the newer and more fertile regions opened to cultivation. The acute feeling of discontent arising from these conditions vented itself in attacks on the tariff which was regarded as the cause of all the evil. Some justification for this complaint was given by the grasping and selfish policy pursued by the Eastern and Middle States, and added causes of irritation were found in the supposed tendency of the federal government to increase its powers in other directions as well as in the open attacks on slavery made in the halls of Congress by Northern representatives.

As to the significance of the nullification movement the author points out that, although the nullifiers originally contemplated secession only as a remote possibility, the continued action of the real causes which produced the doctrine of nullification lead inevitably to the movement to dissolve the Union. "By 1832 the feelings of a majority of South Carolinians were alienated from the Union . . . many of her wisest and most far-sighted citizens felt that the final struggle was only a matter of time."

JAMES T. YOUNG.

The English Constitution ; A Commentary on Its Nature and Growth.

By JESSE MACY, M. A., Professor of Political Science in Iowa College. Pp. xxiii, 534. Price, \$2.00. New York and London: The Macmillan Co., 1897.

Since Professor Macy published his little book on civil government in the United States, students of politics have expected nothing but good work from his pen. The present volume on the English constitution is, on the whole, the most elaborate and the best that he has published.

The book has been written primarily to furnish in convenient form for American students a sufficient account of the development and present working of the English constitution to enable them to understand thoroughly the government of the United States. Professor Macy believes with Mr. Hannis Taylor, and indeed with most students of American politics, that no thorough knowledge of that subject can be acquired without noting carefully the historic connection between American and English institutions. Moreover, no other government of the present day is so suggestive by way of contrast. The United States is considered the type of the presidential form of government; England is the best representative of the parliamentary form. The United States is the typical country with a written constitution; England the typical country without a written constitution.

The first part of the work is, for American students, on the whole, the best account that can be found in compact form of the English constitution as it works to-day. It lacks some of the life and vigor of Bagehot's account, is indeed somewhat diffuse in style; but it is more complete than Bagehot's, and being written from the American standpoint is peculiarly adapted for the use of American students. Throughout the work Professor Macy has aimed to give not merely the form of the English government, but also to interpret its spirit; and he also presents the contrasts in our government in such a way as to bring out the strong and the weak points in each.

Every student of politics is likely of course to have his own point of view, and in consequence to find in the work of another parts that seem especially strong and others that seem weak. To the reviewer of this work, the chapter on the English courts seems especially good, and the discussion regarding the influence of the judiciary upon the constitutions of the two countries unusually suggestive and helpful. The discussion of the prerogative of the Crown is also of especial merit; while that regarding the church seems to be inadequate. Aside from the direct question of its

disestablishment, the church has a very powerful influence in many cases in English politics to-day, and some few words at least might well have been said regarding this influence.

In one or two minor matters, Professor Macy seems to have failed to make quite clear the spirit of the English government. For example, in his chapter on the House of Lords, in referring to the duty of the Lords to yield to the House of Commons on matters of vital importance, Professor Macy seems to imply some formal distinction that separates cabinet from non-cabinet measures, though possibly he does not intend to give the impression that there is any formal distinction between the two, so far as their nature is concerned. Any measure that would be of sufficient importance to force an issue between the two houses, and that the cabinet cared for any reason whatever to press, would be in the nature of the case a cabinet measure. Adoption of a bill by the cabinet means only that the cabinet thinks it important, and is willing to use its influence in pushing it, even to the extent of risking a defeat and consequent resignation if necessary.

In this same chapter on the House of Lords are one or two statements that, strictly speaking, amount to misstatements of facts. For example, on page 43 it is stated that three members of the House of Lords constitute a quorum for doing business. Of course this is technically true, and in speaking of the judicial functions of the House of Lords, it would not be misleading. But with reference to ordinary legislation it is misleading, since, according to rule 33 of the house, adopted in 1889, thirty Lords must be present in order that a question may be decided on a division. Again, on page 44, in contrasting the attendance in the House of Lords with that in the House of Commons, the statement is made that "nearly every member of the Commons habitually attends its sittings. On important divisions each of the two parties musters nearly all its force." This is somewhat too emphatic. It is well known that the House of Commons has not seating capacity to accommodate all its members, and on most divisions, even the important ones, a goodly number is absent. On the second reading of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule bill, to be sure, there were only fourteen members absent, and they were paired. But on that measure even the House of Lords mustered 460. On most of the divisions in the Commons on the Home Rule bill, considerably more than one hundred members were absent, and in no case, I believe, except the one mentioned, were less than fifty absent. Of course no other measure of late years has aroused the same interest, and at no other time probably has the attendance been so uniformly large as during that discussion.

Again, on page 87, it is implied that the Board of Trade is no longer even formally a committee of the Privy Council; but while it is a department of administration, I believe that in form it is still a committee of the Privy Council. These errors, however, are none of them important, and they are few.

The second part of the work, on constitutional history, is full of information; and in writing it Professor Macy has shown very great skill in selecting just the matter that was needed to show clearly the successive steps in the development of the constitution.

On the whole, the book will doubtless be found the most satisfactory one for use in American colleges in the study of the English constitution.

JEREMIAH W. JENKS.

Cornell University,

Théories modernes sur les origines de la famille, de la société et de l'état. Par ADOLPHO POSADA, Professeur de droit politique à l'Université d'Oviedo. Ouvrage traduit de l'espagnol, avec l'autorisation de l'auteur, par Frantz de Zeltner et précédé d'une préface de René Worms. Bibliothèque sociologique internationale, No. IV. Pp. 150. Price, 4 francs; cloth, 6 francs. Paris: V. Giard et E. Briere, 1896.

Recht und Sittlichkeit auf den verschiedenen wirtschaftlichen Kulturstufen. Von Dr. RICHARD HILDEBRAND. Erster Theil. Pp. 191. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1896.

Both of these books are of unusual interest to students of primitive institutions, especially to those familiar with the controversy over the early forms of the family. In one sense, without apparently having had any influence on each other, they mark the summing up of an old and the beginning of a new order of procedure in such studies.

Professor Posada published his work in the Spanish original in 1892,* and has made few changes in the text for this French translation, other than in the addition of two short appendices, one developing more fully his thesis as to the character of the political state which he conceives to be dependent on the "*symbiose territoriale*" or association of families and individuals within territorial limits but without community of origin or blood relationship, and the other putting forth an hypothesis contrary to the supposition that the matriarchate is the more primitive type of family. This hypothesis consists of a linguistic argument, by no means conclusive, resting on the assumption that the radicals *pa* and *ma*, common to so many languages to denote father and mother, vary sufficiently in the ease with which they can be pronounced to indicate that *pa*, the easier to pronounce, is the older.

* Madrid, Imprimerie de la Revue de Législation.

Ma is the softer sound and *pa* the harsher, hence the latter is associated with authority and with the presence of the male. From this Posada infers that the prior position and authority of the father is indicated. Interesting as is the suggestion it must needs be verified and substantiated by many more arguments than Posada has given, and it is not likely than he can make it conclusive or satisfactory. It is significant, however, that he declares the solution of this problem of priority to lie outside of historical proofs. The confusion arising from the results of the studies of Maine and Fustel de Coulanges, who support the patriarchal theory, and those of MacLennan, Bachofen, Lubbock, Taylor and Spencer, who acknowledge the matriarchate in some form, as well as those of Giraud-Tenlon, Dargun, Post, Létourneau and Starcke, has been forced home on Posada after the careful review of these various theories which he makes in the main portion of his book. Herein consists the value of his work. René Worms says the French translation was deemed advisable because so many of the authors referred to were not accessible in French. English students are more favored because most of these appeared originally in English. But the theories referred to are buried in such a mass of details that those who are not specialists often lose their way, and English readers will find the French translation useful for the concise, clear and satisfactory review of the leading theories respecting the primitive forms of the family which it contains. Posada approaches the problem throughout from the point of view of the student of political science who is in search of the characteristic feature of the political state and believes it to lie outside of the blood-tie. In his suggestion that the bond that characterizes society in general is not that of blood, but a "*communauté de nature*," he has almost anticipated Professor Giddings' contention that the original and elementary social fact is consciousness of kind. Posada has given an excellent summary of the historical method of dealing with the vexed problem of the origin of the family, society and the political state, and pronounces the result confusion, and in conclusion throws out the linguistic hypothesis to account for his own position.

Thus far we have the summing up of the old *modus operandi* in dealing with these questions. Hildebrand breaks new ground. His "*Recht und Sitte*" is a fascinating book both in its method and its results, many of which are tentative and will doubtless have to be given up upon wider research. He appeals to a wide range of facts. The problem he keeps distinctly in the foreground is the determination of a general history of the development of law and custom not by an historical comparison of the phenomena observed by different peoples at different times, but by grouping the material obtained in

this way according to general economic stages of culture or civilization (*nach wirtschaftlichen Kulturstufen*). In this first part of his work he treats of the hunting and fishing stage, of the pastoral stage and of the landowning stage. It is surprising how much order comes at once out of what has been hitherto confusion as a result of the application of this method. The work combines a happy use of deductive reasoning with inductive verification, which should be the rule rather than the exception in social and economic studies. The way in which the results are stated with the references to authorities interspersed, and the typographical arrangement, are a vast improvement on the average German book-making.

Hildebrand starts out with man in the hunting stage, living in families, not in hordes, and traces first the development of the idea of property in wife and child. An appeal to a little wider range of facts would have corrected one error here, namely, that there is no property in wives in the fishing stage, or not until after the stage of hunting large animals has been reached. In South America there are instances where peoples in the fishing stage have reached an economic development when property in wives was recognized, the women being employed in rowing and managing the boats used in fishing. Hildebrand might have used to advantage the voluminous reports of the American Bureau of Ethnology, which contain a mine of wealth only too little known to English-speaking students.

In both works here referred to there is much to support the view that the problem of the primitive family might be reduced to much simpler terms if we separated out the idea of the family as an institution having its chief support in primitive times from some social, economic or religious motive entirely disconnected from any notion of marriage. Westermarck, indeed, says * in one connection: "Marriage is therefore rooted in family, rather than family in marriage," but does not seem to realize fully the significance of the statement. If we once admit that systems of marriage grow out of the family, a still more primitive form of social organization recognized as such, the various forms of marriage (monogamy, polyandry, polygamy, etc.), are less perplexing, and the question of priority in these forms less important. The fundamental question then becomes what was the nature of the most primitive family bond, and the method of inquiry which Hildebrand launches forth so ably, if carried back to earlier stages of human development and economic epochs anterior to the fishing stage, bids fair to shed light on one of the most perplexing but intensely interesting parts of sociological investigation.

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY.

* "History of Human Marriage," p. 22.

Domestic Service. By LUCY MAYNARD SALMON. Pp. 307. Price, \$2.00. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897.

The servant girl question, that bugbear to domestic happiness which we are prone to fancy a special cross laid upon us by Providence to save us from the fate of Jeshurun, has, hitherto, received little attention from trained economists. It has been, however, a happy hunting-ground for general writers upon social topics, who have advanced innumerable suggestions and plans for the promotion of domestic felicity, which have left us very much as we were before. The merit of Miss Salmon's work consists in a scholarly investigation of the various aspects of the question, not as an isolated problem but as closely related to the manifold industrial and labor difficulties of modern society. She has written not merely for the edification of the housekeeper, but also for the instruction of the economist.

In the early chapters of the book, Professor Salmon gives a readable account of domestic service in the colonial period. The story of the indentured servant and the redeptioner of colonial days has been told before, and its incidents are not unfamiliar to the historical student. It acquires here a new interest from a lively recital and from its obvious connection, by way of contrast, with later conditions. The chapter which traces the transition from the quasi-patriarchal relations of the colonial era to the contractual basis of modern life, presents material less widely known, and disappoints only because of its brevity.

The body of the work depicts present conditions and discusses the future. In dealing with the economic and social conditions of this form of labor, Miss Salmon reproduces the results of a statistical investigation undertaken in 1888, and printed in 1892 in the publications of the American Statistical Association. We should regret the prominence given to these figures, if her treatment of them were not of greater value than the data themselves. In her introduction and elsewhere, Miss Salmon has rested her case too largely upon these inadequate figures and in this, unconsciously, does her argument an injustice. They were gathered unsystematically and are not sufficiently numerous to give a view of the general aspects of the question. As collateral evidence they are of value and this is their real place in the treatment. Statistical evidence from the census and other sources carefully compiled by the author, gives an adequate picture of the conditions with which she is concerned.

Miss Salmon points out that if economic condition be judged solely by present earning capacity, the position of the domestic servant is very favorable. On the other hand, it affords no prospect of promotion and involves social disadvantages which fully off-set the

high wages. The domestic servant stands outside of the main current of industrial life. She lives in isolation, apart from her own kith and kin, without industrial organization and without social union with those of her own class. Elsewhere in society organized forces of capital and labor control economic relations, the domestic servant alone remains a unit. Her relation retains personal aspects which have elsewhere disappeared. From this ill-adjustment of service to the economic life of the time, grow infallibly the difficulties and discontents which, in concrete form, vex the souls of housewives sometimes beyond endurance.

Reform cannot be personal and individual. The keynote of the situation is struck when Miss Salmon says "What domestics as a class desire is the opportunity of living their own lives in their own way." They desire to be on the same footing with other laborers. With this fundamental principle in mind, the author makes short work of various well-meant proposals which neglect this thought. Reform must be economic, must affect the conditions of this class of labor, must be slow and must be an evolution. Woman's labor in modern industry has grown out of household occupations and we have not yet reached the limit of this evolution. As women's labors are eliminated from the household, the greater the proportion of women workers whose labor is removed from the quasi-patriarchal form of the family and made to harmonize with the conditions of modern industry. The number of "employees" increases as the number of servants decreases. Miss Salmon is not dogmatic but is hopeful of adjustment to the economic conditions of modern labor. The general principle is outlined with a bold hand, the indications of it with some diffidence. Miss Salmon is by no means sure that they will receive a ready assent and offers them merely as straws which may show the direction of the current.

The work is full of fruitful suggestion, worthy of the thoughtful attention of economists. It brings us a discussion of domestic service as a part of the general labor problem, and is an admirable account of the phases which the problem assumes in the case of the ever present, but economically neglected, servant.

ROLAND P. FALKNER.

The Street Railway System of Philadelphia; Its History and Present Condition. By FREDERIC W. SPEIRS, Ph.D. Johns Hopkins University Studies, XV Series, Nos. 3, 4 and 5. Pp. 123. Cloth, \$1.00; paper, 75 cents. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1897.

This book, although dealing almost exclusively with the street railway system of a single city, is of interest to a far wider circle

than to the community of which it treats. The experience of Philadelphia in street railway matters is unfortunately quite typical of American experience generally. The franchises may have been granted on slightly different terms in different cities; one city may have exacted more favorable returns, or retained a larger measure of control and power of regulation than another; but nearly every city has failed to understand the economic relation of natural monopolies to the public and nearly everywhere with the same practical results. For a score of years the problems of municipal government have received a generous portion of public attention in periodical literature. Unfortunately, however, this discussion has generally been based on no adequate investigation of facts. The public has thus far, for the most part, been regaled on theories based largely on general impressions, and newspaper accounts.

Dr. Speirs' monograph on the "Street Railway System of Philadelphia" is not only a credit to himself as a careful piece of scholarly investigation in an important field already too long neglected, but it also cannot fail to be of great value to the general reader, interested in municipal problems. The tone is admirably judicial. It will accordingly be disappointing alike to the radical and the conservative, and to all others whose theories are formulated without much knowledge of, or regard for the facts. The book is neither a special plea for or against public ownership, but an unprejudiced recital of the facts relating to the development of the street railway system in Philadelphia, so far as Dr. Speirs has been able to ascertain them. Incidentally it is an interesting commentary on a large and important body of facts that the public are entitled to know, but which neither the public nor the investigator is yet able to ascertain.

In writing a book to be read only by economists, it would perhaps be unnecessary to make a very full statement of the economic relation of natural monopolies to the public, but evidently Dr. Speirs' book is not intended for economists alone, for the early chapters treat of episodes in street railway history, interesting to the general reader, but of little importance to the specialist. It is accordingly to be regretted that the chapter on the "Evolution of Monopoly in Street Railway Service" does not more fully discuss the monopolistic nature of street railways generally and the inevitable and necessary tendency toward consolidation where franchises have been granted to rival companies. The average citizen is still persistent in his belief that the prices demanded for services furnished by natural monopolies are regulated by competition, and by cost of production; even so intelligent a body as the

Massachusetts Board of Railway Commissioners have asserted in a recent report that a tax on a street railway company, either in the form of a gross charge for the franchise or a percentage of receipts, is a tax on the passenger, and it is accordingly a visionary scheme to attempt to make the street railway service a source of public revenue.

The history of the street railway service in Philadelphia shows a persistent but futile attempt on the part of the state legislature to secure competition by granting franchises to rival companies. During the period from 1857 to 1874, no less than thirty-nine different companies were granted charters to operate street railways in Philadelphia. From the very beginning an agreement was entered into by the different companies for the purpose of regulating competition. By 1876, the thirty-nine companies had been consolidated into seventeen, operating their lines in nominal independence, but really working under an agreement made by the Board of Street Railway Presidents and controlled by them. Since 1880, consolidation has been greatly facilitated by the formation of traction companies, and the introduction of electricity as a motive power. Finally, in 1895, all the important lines except one were consolidated by merger or lease, into a single giant corporation, with an authorized capital of \$30,000,000 and controlling more than four hundred miles of track.

The returns exacted for these valuable franchises fall into three classes: (1) Nearly all the roads are required to repave and keep in good repair the entire street occupied by their tracks. This condition was exacted by general ordinance in 1857 before the great value of street railway franchises was known. It has been a source of endless litigation, the street railway companies at first denying the right of the city to impose the condition, and subsequently when the city began to replace the cobble stone with improved pavement, they maintained that they were not required to repave with any other material than the original pavement. The Supreme Court, however, decided in 1891, that it was never intended that the street railway companies should always continue to exist in "a cobble-stone age," and the decision of the lower court was affirmed requiring them to repave with a new and improved pavement. Since 1891, 271 miles of streets have been repaved by the street railways companies, at an estimated cost of \$9,000,000. The annual value of this to the city is estimated at \$450,000.

(2) Most of the companies chartered by special act prior to 1874 are required to pay a small tax on dividends when the dividends exceed 6 per cent. This provision, too, has caused considerable

litigation, the companies attempting to evade the plain provision of the law by devious methods well known to such corporations. The amount received from this source in 1895 was \$92,339.20. None of the companies chartered under the general law since 1874 are required to pay this tax, although under the constitution the city has full power to exact such terms as it chooses. As a matter of fact several companies whose charters require them to pay a tax on dividends, are evading the law wholly or in part.

(3) The third source of revenue is a car tax of \$50 per car, from which the city received in 1896, \$97,550. Dr. Speirs justly condemns this form of taxation, as it offers a direct inducement to the companies to furnish inadequate car accommodation, nor is the tax so easy of collection as he seems to think. The total annual return received by the city is placed at \$639,000. It appears from this that Philadelphia is receiving a larger return for the franchise privileges granted than many other large American cities. Unfortunately, however, under the pernicious system of granting perpetual franchises, the city has placed itself beyond the possibility of exacting a return at all approximating the amount it could equitably demand, while many other cities by granting franchises for a limited period will be able later to secure much more favorable terms. Dr. Speirs does not specifically discuss the question of the most desirable form of return for franchise privileges, whether by sale of franchise, by taxation, or by better service, and lower fares. Nor does he discuss the theoretical questions of public ownership, or public control. But the book is bristling with facts bearing upon these questions, and is indispensable to the municipal reformer, studying street railway problems.

It is to be regretted that fuller information could not be given in regard to the financial aspects of the question. But every investigator knows that the methods of accounting and making reports followed by the street railway companies are better adapted to conceal, than to impart information.

ALBERT A. BIRD.

Otto, N. Y.

Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime. By WILLIAM P. TRENT. Pp. xv, 293. Price, \$2.00. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1896.

In his life of Simms, Professor Trent showed such a sympathetic insight into the political life of the South in *ante bellum* days, that we look to his pen for valuable contributions to this side of American history. The volume under review justifies this expectation. Professor Trent has a rare breadth of view and felicity of literary

style. He makes his characters live before us. They are not mere abstractions or catalogues of attributes, but flesh and blood men of like passions with ourselves. They did not act from different motives than those which actuate us to-day. Trent calls this fact to our minds, from time to time, by such remarks as the following: "But impartiality was never Davis' forte, and where slavery was concerned, he was always preternaturally squint-eyed. . . . Yet I venture to assert that ninety-nine out of a hundred are going, in this presidential year, to be guilty of partisanship just as indiscriminating as Davis', only perhaps less dangerous in its consequences."

The book was originally a series of lectures and bears evident marks of its origin. As his typical Southern statesmen, he chooses Washington, Jefferson, Randolph of Roanoke, Calhoun, Stephens, Toombs, and Jefferson Davis. One naturally asks, why has there been an omission of Marshall, Madison, Monroe, Crawford, Clay, and others; but Professor Trent has anticipated the query and, in his introduction, gives the grounds for his selection. He tells us that: "My opinions are the results of my own studies based chiefly upon Southern materials," and these opinions have a frankness and, often, an originality, which are delightful.

We have too few Southern historians. Here is one, "who cannot recollect ever seeing a slave and who has never believed in the doctrine of states rights *per se*." These are truly the marks of one belonging to a new generation and it is most encouraging to find that a Southerner does not hesitate to admit that the South's position on slavery and disunion was morally and radically wrong. With equal firmness, Professor Trent insists on the honesty of the South. Even Jefferson Davis, whom the North has so hated, may not be considered dishonest, though he was fanatical. The lecture on Calhoun is the most satisfactory chapter in the book. Trent sums up the whole question which presented itself to the men of Calhoun's day in one pregnant sentence: "There was no question as to the legal fact that slavery was acknowledged by the constitution, there should have been no question as to the moral fact that slavery was not acknowledged as legitimate by the conscience of the recently awakened world."

The following sentences are also admirable in their clear apprehension of the position of the two sides to the great controversy: "But the North, recognizing the constitutional obligation to protect slavery, was conscious also of the moral obligation to suppress it, and halting between opinions, proclaimed the doctrine of a 'higher law.' The Southerner was in no such dilemma; he knew that slavery was legal, he could not see that it was immoral; hence he

became righteously indignant at what he was bound to regard as Northern aggression and infractions of the constitution."

The description of the position of the planter class is well done and shows a sympathetic appreciation of their view of political questions. We have left ourselves little space to speak of the first three lectures. That on Washington is extremely eulogistic, that on Jefferson discriminating, that on Randolph most entertaining. Trent's choice of epithets for his protagonists is most happy. So are his comparisons of Washington in politics to Sophocles in literature and of Jefferson to Shelley. Sometimes, however, he makes comparisons which are rather fantastic than just, as when he speaks of Randolph as a compound of Ithuriel and Caliban. Indeed, an excessive desire to be vivid and striking seems the chief defect in the style of the lectures. Impartiality seems characteristic of Trent's view of every man but Alexander Hamilton. For some reason, he is unjust to him. The following sentence is so malignant and untrue as to be ridiculous: "He was selfish and cold, even when the man who had made him what he was lay dead at Mt. Vernon." Even Jefferson knew the chief author of the *Federalist* too well to speak of him in his bitterest moods, as "made" by Washington. The portraits of the men, who are the subjects of the lectures, add much to the value and attractiveness of the book.

The only serious misprint I have found is that John Taylor of Caroline County, Virginia, is always referred to as John Taylor of Carolina. Did the proof-reader refer to Johnson's "Cyclopædia," which, singularly, seems to have omitted the former man?

BERNARD C. STEINER.

Johns Hopkins University.

An Examination of the Nature of the State. A Study in Political Philosophy. By WESTEL WOODBURY WILLOUGHBY, Ph. D. Pp. 448. Price, \$3.00. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1896.

It is a matter of primary importance to the advance of scientific thought that the views of conflicting schools be clearly and definitely presented. The endeavor to reconcile essentially conflicting views, has often been more of a barrier than an aid to progress. The work of Professor Willoughby may be regarded as a treatise on political science from the juristic standpoint. Although he is continually making reference to the psychic factors underlying political association, yet his conclusions are scarcely influenced by such factors. In fact, the general tenor of the work is more in harmony with Austin than any of the recent treatises on political science; and this, in spite of the fact that the author disagrees with Austin

on many important questions. The intellectual kinship is most strikingly shown in the method of reasoning. While endeavoring to give due weight to the principles of the historical school, the author's method is essentially analytical. His attitude toward the subject is best illustrated in the discussion of the factors of which political science must take account. Only those relations, whether individual or groupal, which are definitely formulated in law; only those activities which find expression through some legally organized channel, deserve to be recognized by political science as such. We have here a question of method which will probably give rise to much discussion. The statement that "as publicists or jurists we need not look back of the persons or bodies who have the legal power of expressing the will of the state," is one which may mean much or little, according to the influence the acceptance of such a view will exercise on our treatment of political phenomena. It may be an excellent principle when we are describing the operation of political institutions at any one period, without reference to the ideas upon which they rest or the functions which they have to perform. But we must recognize the fact that such a discussion gives us but one view of the phenomena; a view which is by no means the most important nor the most fruitful. Unless the limitations of this method are distinctly perceived, there is a constant danger of a confusion of thought resulting from a confusion in the use of terms. This is particularly true in the study of political development. The method adopted by Professor Willoughby does not lend itself to this branch of the science. Here we can advance only through a careful analysis of the relation between ideas, institutions, and the conditions of the objective and subjective environment. The very fact that the concepts of one period which have crystallized into a definite terminology, acquire a different content at a later period of development, ought to be conclusive on this point. An instance of the confusion to which a neglect of this elementary fact leads, is found in Chapter III, on the "Origin of the State." In endeavoring to draw a distinction between the family and the state, the author says:* "The two institutions are different in essence. In the family the location of authority is natural *i. e.* in the father. In the state it is one of choice. Subordination is the principle of the family; equality that of the state." Surely, the author has some particular period here in mind. His acquaintance with Maine, whom he often cites, is sufficient guarantee that he is aware that in primitive societies no such distinctions can be drawn, and that the term "family" itself means to-day an entirely different

* Page 20.

social grouping from that of the Roman family. Is the whole work intended to apply exclusively to the fully developed modern state, based upon the active national political consciousness? But, we read on page 27 that "we cannot refuse the designation of state to a society of men, if politically organized, even though it be in the nomadic stage. Low order of development cannot deprive an institution of its generic name." We have here convincing proof that the moment we get beyond the most general concepts, every political philosophy must be based upon the political and economic conditions peculiar to each stage of development; that our notion of law, of government, of sovereignty, of the nature of the state itself, must proceed from the analysis of existing political conditions. If the question of scope and method is to determine the nature of the conclusions of political science, or, if it is to set the limits to the phenomena of which the science will take cognizance, its satisfactory solution becomes a question vital to the future of the science. Through an unduly narrow view of the scope of the science, the value of several chapters of the work has been seriously impaired. This is particularly true of Chapters IX and XI on the "Power of the State: Sovereignty," and the "Location of Sovereignty in the Body Politic."

Throughout his book the author displays a thorough grasp of the literature of the subject. In his discussion and criticism of the social contract theory, we have probably the best statement of the defects of the theory viewed as an historical interpretation of the origin of the state. The chapter on the "Aims of the State" gives an excellent summary of the conditions which justify governmental interference. We are here far beyond the narrow and carping criticism of Spencer's "Man vs. The State." The question is viewed from the broad basis of social structure.

L. S. ROWE.

NOTES ON MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

AMERICAN CITIES.

National Municipal League.—The Annual Conference of the National Municipal League was held in Louisville, Ky., on the fifth, sixth and seventh of May. Representatives from all sections of the country were present, the West and South sending unusually large delegations. The secretary, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Esq., in his annual address, pointed out in detail the advance of the movement for municipal reform, mentioning especially charter reform, municipal ownership of semi-public monopolies, and civil service reform. The reports on the municipal conditions of individual cities, which has been one of the features of the conference, included reports on Providence, R. I.; New Haven, Conn.; Rochester, N. Y.; New Orleans, La.; St. Louis, Mo.; Kansas City, Mo.; Charleston, S. C.; San Francisco, Cal., and Philadelphia. The more general papers were those of Professor Frank J. Goodnow, on "The Powers of a Municipal Corporation;" Horace C. Deming, Esq., of New York, on "The Legislature in City and State," and Professor L. S. Rowe on "American Political Ideas and Institutions in their Relation to the Conditions of City Life." Several interesting addresses were delivered, that of William B. Hornblower, Esq., being particularly notable. The papers dealing with particular phases of the municipal problem were as follows; "The Business Man in Municipal Politics," by the Hon. Franklin MacVeagh, of Chicago; "The Wage-Earner in Politics," by George Chance, of Philadelphia; "Commercial Organizations and Municipal Reform," by Ryersen Ritchie, of Cleveland, and "The Exclusion of Partisan Politics from Municipal Affairs," by Frank L. Loomis, of Buffalo.

New York City.—*Greater New York Charter.** On April 19th a delegation of about sixty citizens of New York attended a hearing before the governor in Albany, upon the charter. This delegation, the strongest that has visited Albany from this city in a number of years, represented ten or twelve bodies of citizens, such as the Board of Trade and Transportation, the Chamber of Commerce, the Bar Association, and the City Club, which had steadily opposed the charter at every step. Judge Dillon, Mr. DeWitt, and General Tracy, representing the commission which framed the charter, urged Governor Black to give it his approval. Upon the fourth of May it was announced that the governor

* Communication of James W. Pryor, Esq.

had signed the charter. It therefore became law, and will go into operation on the first of January, 1898.

The Citizens' Union. The enactment of the Greater New York charter has made it necessary for the Citizens' Union to extend its plan of campaign so that it shall include Brooklyn and the other political divisions included in the new city.

The officers to be elected on a general municipal ticket, by the voters of the greater city, are a mayor, a comptroller, and a president of the council. They will serve for four years from January 1. Twenty-eight members of the council are to be elected for four years. Of these, three are to be elected from each of the three council districts into which the present city of New York is divided; three from each of the three council districts into which the present city of Brooklyn is divided; one from each of the two districts into which the part of Queens County included in the Greater New York is divided; and one from Richmond County. Aldermen are to be elected for two years from January 1, one from each of the assembly districts of the city, except that the part of Queens County included within the city is divided by the charter into two aldermanic districts, and that a separate aldermanic district is made of the parts of the first and the second assembly district of Westchester County included in the city. The voters of New York County will elect a district attorney, a sheriff, a county clerk, and a register of deeds, for terms of two years. These four county officers are also to be elected in Kings County. An assemblyman will be elected from each assembly district; two judges of the supreme court will be elected from the first judicial department, which consists of New York County; and a judge of the court of appeals will be elected by the voters throughout the state.

The political machines have given to the Union an amount of attention which indicates that it is causing them no little anxiety. It is generally believed that the Union will adhere to its declared purpose of making nominations early in the summer—a proceeding which could not fail to be disconcerting to the machines, and particularly to any machine which might entertain the idea that the Union could be so far diverted from its purposes as to lend itself to an open alliance with some of the very forces to which it professes the greatest hostility.

Philadelphia.—*Report of the Senate Investigating Committee.* The Senate Committee appointed to investigate the workings of the municipal government of the city of Philadelphia under the Bullitt Bill charter, has presented its report which contains the views of the committee as to the defects in the present form of government. After discussing the conditions which led to the adoption of the charter in

1885, the committee enters upon a detailed criticism of the individual departments. The report points out the fact that the new charter has not been conducive to economy. In 1887, immediately after the adoption of the charter, the total cost of city departments was \$13,273,893.10; the total assessed valuation \$628,679,312.00. In 1895 the total cost of departments was \$23,491,865.21; the assessed valuation \$782,677,694.00. The committee here fails to consider the higher standards of municipal activity which have characterized the development of the city during the last ten years. This is particularly noticeable in the demands for increased water facilities, the re-paving of streets, and the extension of the system of drainage. The mere increase in total expenditures is no criterion of economy in administration.

The other criticisms in the report seem to have a far more definite basis. This is particularly true of the comment on the contract system, the gas works, the police force, and the civil service system. As regards the first, the report points to the fact that the requirements of the law in respect to the awarding, entering into, and supervising of contracts, are not fully complied with. "The protection of the city," says the committee, "lies not in the law and its ordinances, whereon it is intended to and should rest, but depends upon the discretion of the executive officer." The garbage contracts are cited to show the existence of collusion or sympathy between the officials of the city and the contractors. For the year 1897 the bids for this work were made by two establishments, "dividing the city between themselves, each bidding an excessive price for the territory that was adjacent to the other, and thus securing the territory adjacent to itself as being the lowest bidder." With each year the amount of the bids has been increasing. A similar plan has been adopted by the electric light companies, which divide the territory of the city amongst themselves, each bidding within its own territory. The result is that the average rate for the city of Philadelphia for 1895 was \$150.25 per arc-light per year, whereas most of the smaller cities of the state are supplied by private companies at a rate varying from \$75 to \$100.

As regards the gas works, the report comments upon the fact that the mayor, in his last annual message, estimated the value of the works at \$30,000,000. Evidence produced before the committee shows that the plant itself might be duplicated for half that sum; the remaining \$15,000,000 representing the value of the franchise. The report strongly urges upon the city the necessity of fully availing itself of the valuable property through the investment of a large sum to renew the present antiquated plant. In fact the committee intimates that the best plan would be to dispose of the franchise to a private company.

The most serious charges contained in the report are those brought against the police administration. The evidence of direct interference of the police force in local elections is conclusive. Furthermore, the toleration of gambling and bawdy houses and unlicensed liquor-saloons points to an understanding between the guilty parties and the police officials. The last question to be taken up by the committee is that of the civil service provisions governing the appointment of officials:—"The principal, and even of itself fatal, defect in the act is that it confides to the mayor and heads of departments, who are themselves the appointing power, the making of the rules and regulations by which they are supposed to limit themselves in the exercise of it, and the result has naturally followed that these rules and regulations have been so framed, either originally or by alterations since made, as to place in the officers making the appointment a power hardly less broad than before the passage of the act." The lack of an efficient civil service system has led to the perpetuation of the system of political assessments which are regularly made by city officials prior to the February and November elections.

In concluding, the committee emphasizes the necessity of strict economy owing to the comparatively low property valuation of the city and the inability of the population to carry a heavy burden of taxation. The report fails to offer any very definite remedies for existing evils. Most of the abuses mentioned were well known to those interested in local affairs, but their definite statement by a legislative committee will contribute something to a more general appreciation of the necessity of providing immediate remedy.

Boston.—*Creation of a Unicameral Local Legislature.* After several years of agitation by various civic organizations, in which the local Municipal League has played the most important part, an act has finally been passed consolidating the board of aldermen and the common council of the city of Boston into one body. The question is to be submitted to the electors of the city at the November election and if accepted will take effect at the local election in December. Under the new system, a single instead of a bicameral legislature will constitute the legislative authority of the city. The act making the change prescribes the method of nomination as well as the method of election of the new representative assembly. In the first place, the president of the council is to be elected by the registered voters of the city for a term of one year; twelve aldermen-at-large for a term of two years, and twenty-five ward aldermen elected on the district system for a term of one year. The president of the council is to appoint the chairman and other members of committees; is a member of every committee and chairman of every committee authorized to recommend

appropriations or to prepare rules, and is to serve as acting mayor whenever the incumbent of that office becomes incapacitated. He is to receive a salary of \$5000 per annum. All of the other members of the city council are to receive \$1200 per annum, and such further sum, not exceeding \$25 in any one month, as shall be certified to have been incurred as expenses in the performance of official duties.

Nominations for president of the city council, for aldermen-at-large and ward aldermen may be made by any political party by direct plurality vote at party caucuses, held in the several wards of the city. In order to have nominations for president of the city council or for aldermen-at-large placed on the official caucus ballot, nomination papers must be filed with the board of election commissioners, bearing the signature of at least one registered voter for every 200 votes cast for mayor at the next preceding election. In case of nomination for ward aldermen, similar papers bearing the signatures of at least fifty registered voters in the ward must be filed with the same authority. In cases of nomination by nomination papers, where the name of the candidate is to be placed on the official election ballot, the signature of at least one registered voter for every 100 votes cast at the next preceding election of a mayor, is necessary for the office of president of the city council or aldermen-at-large. For ward aldermen the signatures of one hundred registered voters of the ward are required.

San Francisco.*—*Legislation Affecting the City.* Among the general laws affecting San Francisco enacted by the state legislature at its recent session is one increasing the salaries of officers of the fire department in municipalities of the first-class, fixing the salaries of the chief engineer at \$5000 per annum, assistant chief engineer at \$3600 per annum, secretary or clerk at \$3000 per annum, assistant engineers at \$2100 each per annum.

Attention has been called in these Notes † to an amendment to the constitution of California, adopted by the voters of the state at the November election, limiting the power of the legislature to control the government of cities by general laws, by injecting the proviso, "except as to municipal affairs." Since the law above quoted took effect, and when the monthly quota of the said salaries were coming payable, an action at law was brought by a citizen to enjoin the auditor from approving, and the treasurer from paying, the increased salaries provided for in the act, and thereby to test the force of the constitutional amendment aforesaid. The superior court (the supreme court has not yet been heard from) holds that the only effect of the amendment has been to prevent the legislature from passing any law

* Communication of I. T. Milliken, Esq.

† ANNALS, Vol. ix, p. 297. March, 1897.

which shall, in municipal affairs, alter, amend or repeal any provision of a charter which has been framed by a city for its own government under Section 8 of Article XI of the Constitution, and that the legislature has, since the adoption of the amendment to Section 6 of said article, the same power, by means of general laws, to control cities which have not framed and adopted charters as it had before.

The amendment, which was adopted by the voters of the whole state, having been specially framed to supplement the charter which it was expected the voters of this city would approve at the same election, but which they failed to do—it will be seen that, according to this ruling, the only way in which the people of San Francisco can be sure of securing the benefits of this amendment is to agree upon a system of self-control, *i. e.*, a charter.

The legislature took another step in the direction of aiding self-government for the city by adopting a resolution covering a constitutional amendment to be voted upon at the next general election, adding a new section, to be known as Section 5½, as follows: "The provisions of Sections four and five of this article shall not, nor shall any legislation passed pursuant thereto, apply to any consolidated city and county government now existing, or hereafter formed, which shall have become, or shall become, organized under Section seven, or secure a charter under Section eight of this article." San Francisco being the only consolidated city and county government in the state, the applicability of the proposed amendment will be clearly understood. Section 4, the provisions of which the amendment is proposed to limit, provides for the establishment by the legislature of a system of county governments. The bearing of this proposed change upon the municipal affairs of San Francisco is most easily made apparent by reference to the dual condition of the consolidated city and county government of San Francisco. Section 5, while it is also proposed to limit, provides for general laws by the legislature, for the election or appointment of county and municipal officers, prescribing their duties and fixing their terms of office.

Prior to 1893 the mayors of this city had exercised without challenge the power of veto of all ordinances of the board of supervisors. In repeated instances the orders of the board fixing rates to be charged to the city and to private consumers by the water company have been treated in that manner by the mayors. When the same thing occurred four years ago, the point was raised that as the law makes it the duty of the supervisors to fix the rates, and as the mayor is but a member of the board, and without a vote in the board, his duties and powers in that matter were executive only to the extent of presiding officer, which contention was sustained by the supreme court.

Washington.*—*Street Extension Throughout the District.* The Highway Act, so called, has been declared constitutional by the United States Supreme Court. This is a matter of great benefit to the district. The Act provides for the condemnation of rights of way for the extension of streets and avenues throughout the district, which extension is to conform as nearly as possible to the system in the city. The Act was passed March, 1893, and soon after its constitutionality was attacked. Certain of its provisions were stricken out by the Court of Appeals, to which it was carried from the District Supreme Court. An appeal was then made to the United States Supreme Court, which has reversed the judgments of both of the district courts, and has decided that there is nothing inconsistent with the constitution. Among other things the decision includes the right of assessment for benefits.

Slums.—This year there has been much interest taken in the matter of the clearing of the slums of the city. These slums consist of blind alleys, mainly in the districts inhabited by the negro population. The Civic Centre conducted an investigation, employing a special agent, and followed the investigation of these alleys with a report recommending the cutting through and widening, when necessary, of the blind alleys, thereby converting them into streets. They furthermore recommended the investment of capital in the building of small dwellings. These recommendations were concurred in by a committee appointed by the district commissioners. A sanitary improvement company is now organized, similar to the New York City and Suburban Homes Company, for the building of small houses of good quality on a 5 per cent interest-bearing basis. The matter of pushing the cutting through of the blind alleys is made much easier by the decision on the highway act, which settles the question of assessment for benefits in the converting of the alleys into streets. There has just been taken a police census, and for the first time the population by alleys has been given. The total alley population is 18,978—2100 white and 16,878 colored, the latter being about one-fifth of the negro population. The slum population is surprisingly large as compared with the slum districts of other cities, a census of which was taken in 1893. The latter gave to Baltimore, 18,048; Chicago, 19,748; New York, 27,462, and Philadelphia, 17,060. A recent act of Congress requiring all houses to make sewer connections, provided there is a sewer adjacent, is of importance in this connection. And now the commissioners have drafted a bill creating a commission for the condemnation of unsanitary dwellings in the district. At present there is no special law on the subject. During the past year new building

* Communication of Miss Katharine P. Hosmer, Corresponding Secretary of the Civic Centre, Washington, D. C.

regulations have been made, which were prepared by a commission appointed by the district commissioners. Among other things it limits the width of building lots to not less than sixteen feet, and requires a certain amount of air space in each block.

Sewers and Sewage Systems. A matter of grave importance to the district is the continuation of the system of trunk sewers, and the disposal of sewage. At present the flats along the tributary to the Potomac River, the "Eastern Branch," are the cause of much sickness in the adjacent section of the city, and will continue to be so until the system of sewage disposal and protection against floods is provided. A bill was introduced in the last congress following the recommendation of the board of sanitary engineers in its report upon these subjects in 1890. The bill provided for the further development of the system of trunk sewers and for the sewage disposal and protection against floods. District bonds to the sum of \$150,000 and \$3,800,000 were to be issued for the first and second purposes respectively. This bill will probably be reintroduced in the fall. At present appropriations out of the district revenues are made yearly for the continuation of the sewer system, but in this way the work progresses slowly. Only \$375,000 has been appropriated for the sewage disposal plan for which the estimate in 1890 was \$3,598,000.

District Ownership of Great Falls of the Potomac. A bill has been reintroduced this congress for the acquiring by purchase or condemnation land and water rights at the Great Falls of the Potomac for the purpose of increasing the water supply of the city. It is contemplated in the bill that the water power may be used for the generating of electricity for use in the district as well as for other purposes.

Labor on Public Works. A bill has been introduced for street cleaning by the municipality. The chances of its passage are excellent. The contract for street cleaning is about to expire, and new bids have been sent in. But it is practically settled that the contract when let will be for a short term in view of the passage of the above bill. It is almost certain that the contract will be for hand labor instead of machine. The commissioners have received petitions in favor of hand labor from a large number of business men, and from the labor organizations, and the commissioners have been investigating the system of street cleaning in New York.

A bill was introduced in the last congress which failed of passage abolishing contract work on public buildings and public work, by or on behalf of the district, and providing for the employment of labor by the day. It is thought that the adoption of a public street-cleaning service will be helpful in forwarding the abolishment of other contract work.

Cincinnati.*—Cincinnati has recently witnessed one of those popular upheavals with which the history of American municipalities abounds. On April 5 last, a Republican majority of 20,000 was turned into a Democratic one of 7500. This of course was done with the aid of independent Republicans. The history of this reform movement is interesting and instructive. During the past decade the municipal and county governments have been controlled by a "boss." Relying upon the strength of national issues to hold the party to strict loyalty, henchmen of the boss were placed in every office in the City Hall and Court House. Not only were the candidates for administrative offices named by the leader, but during the last fall the whole judicial ticket was forced upon the community in the face of the protest of the bar. This spring it was believed that the same plan could be successfully carried through. A party convention was held, and within thirty minutes a ticket nominated. But the more independent Republicans and Democrats had been at work for months, and all agreed that the time was opportune to overthrow the "ring." Three years ago a similar movement was set on foot, but at that time the "boss" persuaded the regular Democratic organization to nominate a ticket. The decoy served its purpose, and the present city government was elected. This year, however, the leading Democrats agreed to allow the independent Republicans to name the candidates for three offices, viz., auditor, treasurer, and corporation counsel. There were therefore but two tickets in the field. A vigorous campaign was inaugurated immediately; it was not the stereotyped campaign of old, for there were few meetings. A tri-weekly paper, called the *Taxpayer*, was issued, and pamphlets setting forth the unjust and unequal taxation in this city, and exposing the sudden wealth of the boss and his assistants.

The interference of the "boss" with the judiciary, the mockery of holding conventions merely to ratify tickets named by him, the utter defiance of the wishes of the people culminated at last in one grand wave of indignation, which finally overwhelmed the Republican machine. However, the far-sightedness of the machine has lessened somewhat the importance of the victory. Last year the legislature enacted a law extending the terms of the present city officials until July. This gave the present mayor the opportunity to reappoint certain officials against whom many insinuations had been made. These reappointments were made, and inasmuch as the supreme court has sustained the validity of the law, nothing further can be done. In order to embarrass the incoming mayor, the board of legislation, which is politically opposed to him, has passed an ordinance

* Communication of Max B. May, Esq.

taking from him the power of making several important appointments.

During the spirited campaign the leaders of the Republicans challenged the public to point out wherein their administration of affairs had been a failure. The day before the election the health officer was accused of blackmailing an eastern medicine company and has since been indicted. A few weeks after the election the county clerk, the boss's chief lieutenant and former chairman of the Republican Campaign Committee, was found \$20,000 short in his accounts. Subsequent investigations disclosed a large shortage in the recorder's office. He has since been indicted for embezzlement, malfeasance in office and forgery, and has been released on bond signed by the "boss" as surety. Early in May the accounts of two trusted employes in the water works department were found to be in arrears.

These disclosures have compelled the Board of Revision to order an investigation of all municipal departments, and an expert to this end has been employed. This malfeasance in office was possible only because there is no proper system of auditing the accounts of the several offices, and steps have already been taken to perfect a system of checks to avoid similar shortages in the future.

Providence.*—Municipal Affairs. The second year of the existence of the Providence Municipal League has shown that it is possible to arouse an intelligent community to an interest in public affairs. Evidence of a feeling that municipal affairs should be independent of national politics is becoming more and more manifest. While the city was strongly Republican in its national vote in November, on the same day it gave the Democratic candidate for mayor a decided majority. Several wards have for two years disregarded party lines and sent men to the city council on city issues only.

The influence of the state legislature in city affairs has been very marked. Salaries of officials paid by the city have been increased, the date of municipal elections has been changed to coincide with the national election, powers of city officials have been increased and decreased at the will of the legislature, and all in spite of frequent protests from the mayor, city solicitor, Board of Trade and others.

The issue of the last municipal election was the representation of the city in the legislature. Home rule for the city was the demand of the Municipal League, and it named candidates for senator and representatives upon that platform. The Democratic party named a large number of the same candidates, though some of these were of the national Republican party. The Republican party named one of

* Communication of Professor George G. Wilson, Providence, R. I.

the Municipal League candidates, but made its ticket largely from those who last year represented the city in the state legislature.

The result of the election was a surprise to many. The Republican candidates for governor and general officers of the state were elected by large pluralities. Of the twelve representatives of the city in the state legislature the Republicans elected three by pluralities of 400 to 575. The remaining nine representatives and the senator were elected from the Municipal League candidates by pluralities of from 1400 to 3400. The Municipal League candidate for senator was elected by a plurality of above 2700. Thus ten of the thirteen representatives from the city in the next state legislature are elected on the platform of home rule for the city. Whether this expression of the desire of the city to manage its own affairs will influence the policy of the state legislature beyond the votes of the city representatives remains to be seen.

FOREIGN CITIES.

Hornsey.—*Municipal Dwellings.* The progress of the movement for sanitary dwellings for the laboring classes is well illustrated by the recent activity of some of the smaller towns. The theory upon which such dwellings were constructed at an earlier period was, that the present slum districts should be replaced by more sanitary habitations. In other words, the primary object in view was to remove the distinctive slum dwellings. In most cases the municipality restricted itself to the construction of tenements upon the area cleared. Within recent years, however, there is a distinct tendency to construct laborers' dwellings in the suburban districts of the cities. In Glasgow we find the municipality purchasing property in the outlying districts, with a view to providing sanitary, low priced accommodations.

The most recent experiment in this direction is that which is being made by the district council of Hornsey, one of the constituent districts of metropolitan London. A series of individual dwellings is to be erected at a total cost of about \$150,000. Two classes of cottages are to be provided; one containing a sitting-room, living room, kitchen, larder, and three bed rooms, to rent at \$7.50 per month; the other to contain the same number, with the exception of two instead of three bed rooms, designed to rent at \$6.50 per month.

Huddersfield.—*Development of the Municipal Street Railway System.* A recent report of the manager of the Huddersfield Street Railway System describes the development of the municipal street railway system from the beginning of the experiment. Huddersfield was the first of the English cities to undertake the construction and operation of the street railway system. During the first years, the

municipal authorities had to contend with many difficulties. In the first place, Parliament was unwilling to give unrestricted powers and placed so many conditions on the powers granted that the extension of the system became almost impossible. During the early 90's the success of the experiment having been assured, Parliament became more liberal in dealing with the municipality. The additional powers then granted have greatly aided the city in the extension of the system and the further utilization of the lines previously constructed. The results for the year ending March 31, 1897, may be summarized as follows:

Miles run	423,564
Traffic receipts	\$142,256
Other receipts	435

An additional source of income, which has been increasing with each year, has been the establishment of a system of parcel delivery, inaugurated by the city authorities. During the year the receipts from this source were nearly \$2500. The total expenditures were \$93,970, leaving a surplus of \$51,221. Since August, 1896, the municipality has been using the street railway lines for the removal of refuse, the trucks being run on the roads at stated intervals.

Gas Works in English Cities.—Recent reports of the gas departments of English cities give some interesting data concerning the development of the municipal gas and electric light plants. Nearly all the larger cities, with the exception of London and Sheffield, own and operate the gas works, while Glasgow, Bradford, and Manchester own and operate the electric light plants. With regard to the management of the gas works, the general policy has been to so decrease the price as to bring the use of gas within the reach of the working classes. Up to the present time, some of the cheaper class of tenement-houses have not been supplied with gas fixtures; or, when supplied, have not been used by the occupants. The municipalities are endeavoring to make the use of gas a permanent element in the standard of life of the working classes. This, in many cases, has been done at the sacrifice of purely financial ends. Not only has the price been reduced, but other inducements have been offered. Thus, penny-in-the-slot gas meters have been introduced, furnishing light for one gas jet for about five hours. Of these, Manchester has 11,500 in use at the present time. Efforts are also being made to facilitate the use of gas for motor purposes; special rates being offered when used in this way. The same policy has been pursued with reference to electricity. While at the present time the cost of electricity to the consumer is greater than that of gas, one of the possibilities of the near future is the supplanting of gas and coal for motor purposes by electricity.

This is due to the fact that if the electric light works are able to dispose of a large quantity of electrical power during the day, as for instance, in running an electric railway system, the cost of furnishing electric light at night would be greatly reduced. One of the main expenses at the present time comes from the necessity of storing great quantities of electricity during the day in order to have sufficient on hand for lighting purposes during the night. The following table will show the present condition of the gas service in the larger cities:

Gas Service in English Cities. (To March 31, 1896.)

	Gas consumed during last fiscal year. Cubic feet.	Price per 1000.	Number of new consumers.	Use of gas for motor purposes. Cubic feet.	Number of gas motors in use.	Price per 1000 cubic feet.
Manchester	3,646,010,000	\$0 56	12,570	32,000,000	1,120	\$0 56
Bradford	1,668,287,000	*56	700	..	432	56
Glasgow	4,259,169,000	58	5,054	160,578,000	1,183	58
Leeds	2,391,303,500	54	1,497	..	650	54
Birmingham	4,334,721,000	†64	1,500	..

* With discounts varying from 2½ per cent to 12½ per cent.

† Price decreases with amount consumed; 60 cents for from 25,000 to 50,000 cubic feet, and 56 cents for more than 50,000 cubic feet. All subject to 5 per cent for prompt payment.

SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES.

Profit-Sharing in England.—In the United States Consular Reports for May, 1897,* Mr. C. W. Chancellor, Consul at Havre, gives an account of the profit-sharing experiment tried by the South Metropolitan Gas Company of London. Some of the information contained in a letter from Mr. George Livesey to Mr. Chancellor may prove interesting to students of these experiments. This particular experiment has been tried for a period of eight years. As a member of the recent English Labor Commission Mr. Livesey has had ample opportunity to become familiar with the history of the conflicts between capital and labor. He says: "My experience on the labor commission and also that of my lifelong connection with workmen in my business, convinces me that the only solution lies in the direction of partnership in profits, in shareholding, in responsibility, and in management—the more complete the better. Conciliation and arbitration are good so far as they go, but they are at best only palliatives. What is wanted is something that will remove the causes or the necessity for either the one or the other."

The South Metropolitan Gas Company operates under the system known as the sliding scale, by which a certain standard price per 1000 cubic feet is fixed by law for gas; the dividend which the company can pay on its stock is limited by law, the standard price being such as will enable the company under good management to pay the standard dividend. Then for every penny per 1000 feet that gas is sold below the standard price, the company is allowed to pay 0.25 per cent higher dividend than the standard dividend fixed by law. *Vice versa* for every penny rise in the price of gas the dividend which the company is allowed to pay is reduced by 0.25 per cent. The company in 1889 extended this sliding scale arrangement to its employees by providing for the payment of a cash bonus which is a percentage payable pro rata annually and dependent on the price of gas and on the salaries and wages of all officers and workmen. Only those workmen who enter into a written contract of service for a limited period not exceeding twelve months are entitled to this bonus, and the company reserves the right to refuse to make contracts with men who take no interest in the welfare of the company, or who are wasteful of the company's property or negligent in the performance

*Vol. liv, No. 200.

of duty. The bonus percentages during seven years have been 5, 5, 3, 4, 6, 6, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ respectively, and the total amount paid or credited to the profit sharers in the seven years has been \$410,000. The directors of the company agreed to receive these payments or any part of them or any other savings of their employes on deposit, subject to withdrawal on a week's notice, and bearing 4 per cent interest. About half the number of profit sharers, representing more than half of the total payments, made use of this opportunity week by week and some invested their savings in the stock of the company. In 1894 a change was made which was agreed to by the men, that henceforth one half of each man's total bonus should be invested in the company's ordinary stock, the other half being payable in cash as before. All the officers and workmen in the regular employ of the company at the present time are therefore shareholders. Those who began in 1889 have now an average investment of \$250 to \$300, while those who began in 1894 under the new arrangement have on the average from twenty-five to fifty dollars invested in the stock of the company.

Mr. Livesey sums up his account of the experiment as follows: "Roughly dividing the above total of \$410,000, about \$230,000 has been saved and \$180,000 withdrawn and spent, part, without doubt, wisely and well, the remainder by the unthrifty, with little present and probably no permanent good; but the weekly and other savings of the thrifty, plus the accumulations of interest, bring up the total in hand to over \$355,000, *i. e.*, \$230,500 has been invested in the purchase of \$202,500 of the company's ordinary stock and \$128,000 is on deposit with the company at 4 per cent interest. The number of profit-sharing stockholders is over 2500, and the market value of the \$202,500 of the stock held by them is over \$295,000; consequently, with the money on deposit, they are the owners of \$425,000, and before the present year is out there is little doubt the figure will be \$500,000. This sum of money would certainly not have been in its present hands but for the profit-sharing scheme of 1889. It is safe to say that a large portion of it has been created by the better relations the system has produced between employers and employed; it may therefore be considered a financial success, at any rate so far as the employed are concerned. During the whole period there has not been a single difficulty or any disagreement with the workmen. The work has been done better and in a more cheerful spirit, and it can safely be said that the company is better off financially for the \$410,000 paid."

In the consular report referred to above, Mr. Chancellor appends a copy of the rules of the company relating to this profit-sharing arrangement, and also gives a copy of the form of contract between

the company and its employees. The consular report can be had gratis on application to Disbursing Clerk, State Department, Washington, D. C.

Wayfarers' Lodge and Wood-Yard in Boston.—The thirty-third annual report of the Board of Overseers of the Poor of the city of Boston shows that there was a decrease in the number of lodgers at the municipal lodging house during the fiscal year ending January 31, 1897. The number of lodgers in 1895 was 24,408, and in 1896 only 21,240. The falling off is especially noticeable in the months of November, December and January. In November and December of 1895 and January, 1896, the figures are 4019, 4522, and 5374 respectively, and for the same months one year later, 2087, 2138, and 1938 respectively. This falling off may be partly due to improved industrial conditions, but the bulk of it is more apt to be rightly attributed to a change somewhere in the restrictions placed upon the movement of tramps. The tramp, as a rule, is not bothered much by the changes in economic conditions, but is a rather sensitive barometer of police efficiency. The station houses of Boston have been less hospitable during the past two years owing to an agreement between the Police Department and the Overseers of the Poor. The number of tramps cared for in the Wayfarers' Lodge since 1892 for each year has been 32,803, 33,416, 32,815, 24,408, and 21,240 respectively, and those cared for in the police stations for the same years were, 3150, 5320, 15,502, 657, 336.

Tramps in Massachusetts.—In Chapter 385, of the Acts of the Massachusetts Legislature of 1896, there is "An Act Relative to Tramps" which gives a legal definition of the species as found in that state in the following language: "Section 1. Any person, not being a minor under seventeen years of age, a blind person, or a person asking charity within his own city or town, who roves about from place to place begging, or living without labor or visible support, shall be deemed a tramp. An act of begging or soliciting alms, whether of money, food, lodging or clothing, by a person having no residence in the town within which such act is committed, or the riding upon a freight train of any railroad, whether within or without any car or part thereof, without a permit from the proper officers or employes of such railroad or train, shall be *prima facie* evidence that such person is a tramp."

The Institutional Church.—In all our large cities the institutional church has become a well-recognized and permanent feature of religious work. Those who looked upon it at first with considerable distrust now regard it as a necessary and justifiable method of work at least

in certain sections and among certain classes of the population of large cities. A great deal of experience has been gained by the pioneers in their work and original schemes and plans have been much modified as a result. The institutional church has reached a stage in which it begins to record its own history. Ministers, theological students and students of social questions, who have not come into personal contact with the varied social and religious activity of an institutional church in a large city, will find some interesting material for an intelligent appreciation of this work in the pages of the *Open Church*, an illustrated monthly magazine of Applied Christianity.* This little journal began with the January number of this year a new career under new editorial management as an organ of the institutional church movement in the United States. Rev. Dr. E. B. Sanford is the editor with Rev. Drs. Charles L. Thompson, Frank M. North, Sylvanus Stall, Charles A. Dickinson, John P. Peters and Everett D. Burr as associate editors. The April number contains a description of institutional church work in Philadelphia. Dr. J. R. Miller discusses the spirit of the institutional church and Dr. Burr the methods of an open and institutional church. Rev. Leighton Williams has an article on the recent "Federation of Churches and Christian Workers in New York City." Professor W. O. Atwater treats the question of what the churches can do to improve the food and nutrition of the masses.

Pennsylvania Association of Directors of the Poor and Charities.—The Report of the Twenty-second Annual Session held at Pittsburg, October 20-22, 1896, has appeared in print. Mr. W. P. Hunker, who may be addressed in care of the Allegheny Department of Charities, is the secretary of the organization for 1896-97 and Mr. Robert D. McGonnigle, Pittsburg, Pa., is the corresponding secretary. From either of these gentlemen doubtless this valuable report can be obtained. It is a matter of regret that reports of associations of this kind which contain so much practical information from the point of view of the actual administrators of public charity are not more readily accessible and are not much more generally consulted by students of charity problems.

At the sessions covered by this report valuable papers were submitted by Dean Hodges on "Charity Organization;" Mr. Cadwallader Biddle on "Almshouses, their Needs, Management and Discipline;" Dr. Ewing on "The Chronic Insane Hospital at Wernersville;" Mr. H. H. Hart on "Interstate Migration of Paupers and Other Dependents;" Dr. J. W. Walk on "Charity Organization;" Dr. Ida K. Reed on "Effect of Institution Life as Compared with Home Life upon

* Published by Open Church Publishing Co., 150 Fifth avenue, N. Y. Price, 50 cents a year.

American Children;" Mr. John L. Smith on "Outdoor Relief and How to Get the Best Results;" Dr. M. W. Barr on "Feeble-mindedness and Viciousness in Children an Inheritance;" Mr. Louis Tisch on "An Appeal for More Stringent Immigration Laws," and Mr. Detwiler on "Hungarians, Slavs, Italians and their Effect on Poor Houses."

In addition to these papers the report of the proceedings contains two special committee reports of interest; one, on the Passavant Memorial Hospital for Epileptics by Rev. W. A. Passavant, and the other a lengthy report on the "Statistics of the Poor and a Comparison of Expenses with Counties Having Almshouses and Counties Under the Overseer System." In the appendix to the statistical report just referred to, there is an interesting table of the itemized expenditures in 666 overseer districts of the state, aggregating in amount \$325,343.34.

Social Legislation for the Prevention of Feeble-mindedness.—

Dr. M. W. Barr, who succeeded Dr. Kerlin as director of the large school for feeble-minded children at Elwyn, Pa., is deeply interested in the social aspects of the treatment of such patients. In his able address before the last convention of the Pennsylvania Association of Directors of Poor and Charities he made the following statement: "Reformatories, however well conducted, do not touch the root of the evil. Science points to a three-fold method which society will sooner or later, in self-defence, be forced to accept: the enactment of strict marriage laws, surgical interference and permanent sequestration. Connecticut and New York have each taken steps in the right direction, forbidding, by recent acts of Assembly, the marriage of epileptics. This extended to include all persons of a neurotic tendency, or whose family history shows, within certain prescribed limits, neurotic taint, will be yet more effective. The Spartan customs were inhuman, but they resulted in the production of a hardy race. Are we less inhuman when, failing to recognize and apply a remedy to the diseased criminal, we suffer him to grow up and then hang him for committing the crime we should have prevented? The statement simply put is this: By denying surgical interference, by subordinating true sentiment to false sentimentality, we preserve a neurotic race to reproduce its kind *ad infinitum* instead of allowing it to become extinct. The sentimentalists oppose this, but its converts are increasing daily, and we can only hope that the inheritance of evil may yet be cut short by means of statutory enactment. The way for permanent sequestration is fast becoming prepared through the medium of the training schools now increasing rapidly throughout the country."

Boies in his "Prisoners and Paupers" strongly favored surgical interference in dealing with certain classes and Warner in much

calmer language in the chapter on "Charity in Human Selection" in his work on "American Charities" gives sequestration and custodial care through life, his hearty endorsement and surgical interference a qualified approval. In commenting upon certain cases cited by Dr. Kerlin in an appeal for public sanction of surgical interference made before the Association of Medical Officers of Institutions for the feeble-minded, Warner says "whenever, as in the case cited, it appears that these operations can be performed with benefit to the individual, public opinion will doubtless sanction them even now; and the result of such experimentation may ultimately be to extend their use very widely in the treatment of the diseased and criminal classes. To argue for the introduction of such methods on grounds of social selfishness will not be the best way to hasten their introduction. Pending such experimentation, the sterilizing of the essentially unfit who may be dependents, seems likely to be carried forward by the humaner methods of sequestration, and of custodial care through life. . . . The permanent isolation of the essentially unfit has commended itself to men as different as Ruskin and General Booth, and the wiser administration of charitable and penal institutions which shall make this possible, seems to be the outgrowth of tendencies already existing, and to be a reform for which the public is already in part prepared. . . . The desire to prevent suffering must extend to the desire to prevent the suffering of unborn generations."

This whole subject is an extremely complex and difficult one and it is to be hoped that the results of experimentation will be freely and honestly discussed. No one who has occasion to come into contact with the feeble-minded when they are herded together in large numbers can fail to be deeply impressed with their helpless, hopeless and awful fate. No cost is too great to prevent if possible the entailment of a similar curse on the children of the future. The argument which rests upon the money cost to the community which has to eventually support such offspring constitutes but a small part of the adequate reasons for effectual prevention.

Improved Housing.—*Octavia Hill Association of Philadelphia.* The Philadelphia Association was organized as a result of meetings called by the Civic Club during the winter of 1895-96 and it was incorporated June 25, 1896. The first annual report dated January 1, 1897, stated that it had 59 stockholders representing 268 shares of stock at \$25 per share. The aim of the association is to improve the living conditions in the poorer residence districts of the city. Seeing in insanitary, dilapidated, and overcrowded dwellings influences which lower the moral and the physical health of the city, it aims to enlist the co-operation of well-housed citizens who desire the same advantages

for the less fortunate. Co-operation is solicited on strictly business conditions. The experience of two founders of the association in buying, improving and renting property in an undesirable part of the city supports the belief that a safe business investment and a fair rate of interest can be combined with many socially desirable results in work of this kind. In July last title was taken to five properties near Seventh and South streets, and the report goes on to state that the properties have been profitably managed, and that the earnings would have justified a dividend, but the directors were more anxious that the dividends should be continuous in the future and decided to make no distribution at the end of the first six months of corporate activity. The amount passed to the surplus account was nevertheless greater than necessary for a dividend. The investment of stock realized all that was expected and enabled the association to provide suitable lodging for about ten families, who lived previously in the same neighborhood, but in less wholesome quarters. The policy of the association is indicated by the following statement in the first annual report: "In considering the improvement of property two distinct methods present themselves. One plan is to pull down old buildings and erect large tenements; the increased rental value of the new structures making due return for loss incurred in the purchase of buildings to be destroyed. The second—that now chosen by the Octavia Hill Association—is to refit old properties and small houses, first of all putting in modern plumbing and so far as possible removing all unhealthful surroundings. The experience of the company already shows that these old houses, when renovated, make comfortable homes, and the object lesson given by the improved dwellings, is more apparent when, in size and interior arrangement, they resemble those under more careless management. At present, therefore, in accord with the prevailing spirit of Philadelphia, the association has decided not to build the large tenement, but to improve the separate home. The organizers of the company believe that promptness in the necessary repairs of a house, watchfulness in regard to its sanitary conditions and its good outward appearance, tend to raise the tone of family life, and contribute to individual efficiency, capacity and happiness. The ethical and educational work of the association, however, should extend to all persons in any way connected with it, and must be incomplete without the salutary influence of the rent-collector's frequent visits to the tenants. This regular visiting has a good effect upon the standard of living, ensures regularity in payments, and gives opportunity for that reciprocal kindness which in any social relation—strikingly in that of landlord and tenant—can never be safely ignored. The stockholders are brought into touch

with the tenants through the friendly offices of the rent-collector, while the association's strongest claim upon the confidence of the community lies in the fact that its philanthropic interests are founded on true business principles, its business interests upon the principles of a sound philanthropy.*

The association proposes to undertake, in the capacity of agent, the management of other people's property along the lines pursued in connection with its own. It is now prepared to buy properties in any part of the city whenever offered at a figure that will warrant purchase and improvement, and it solicits subscriptions for additional stock, the capital to be used for this purpose. The association is an interesting and natural outgrowth of the kind of improved housing work that is typical of Philadelphia conditions and its results will be eagerly watched.

The State and Its Territory.*—Theoretical political science is at the present time in a critical stage of development. The day is passed when the jurists and statesmen of the type of Robert von Mohl, Bluntschli and Lorenz von Stein took the lead in such discussions. The jurists of the present time are busy with working out positive public and administrative law and what is taught as political science often does not indicate sufficient historical research nor take account of the accurate observation of existing conditions. Ratzel, in his recent book entitled "*Der Staat und sein Boden geographisch betrachtet*,"† arraigns political science in harsh but appropriate words for the manner in which the question of the relation between the state and its territory has been studied. Political science, according to Ratzel, declares there is a necessary bond between the state and its territory when it says: the idea of a territory is an essential part of the concept of a state; a state without a territory is unthinkable. But having stated that such a bond exists, political science proceeds to examine and discuss the state as a thing by itself very much as one might treat a skeleton apart from the living animal and all the conditions that determined its growth and development.

Political science has neglected, it is said, the earnest consideration of the living conditions of social life and development, and modern sociology has taken up the problem and endeavored to interpret this development from a broad and general historical point of view. The method followed in sociology, however, has given rise to many misgivings. In the place of modest conclusions drawn from accurate historical data and social observation of the present, there has been altogether too much bold fantastical constructive work which pretends to cover

* Contributed by Professor Dr. Georg von Mayr. Strassburg,

† Leipzig, 1896.

up the lack of such firm basis of real data with overdrawn biological analogies.

In this condition of affairs the help which recent work in scientific geography brings to those who desire to revise the more important parts of political and social science is very timely and welcome. Ratzel's recent book is a valuable contribution of this kind. It is not a complete systematic work dealing with the relation between state and territory in all its manifestations, but rather four distinct but closely related essays or dissertations which go far toward furnishing the basis for a systematic statement of fundamental principles. In the first essay, entitled "*Der Staat als bodenständiger Organismus*," the author remarks that the peculiarities of this organism will not be recognized by the discovery of mere analogies, and then goes on in an independent way to make clear the nature of this organism and the limitations to a justifiable organic point of view. At the outset emphasis is laid on the importance of intellectual and moral factors in the organic structure of the field of the state's activity in contrast to that of animal organization. The state may be regarded as an organism, according to Ratzel, in so far as a particular part of the earth's surface is utilized in such a way that the characteristics of the state are the joint product of those of the people and of the soil. On the other hand, the author says that the higher the development of the state the farther removed from an organism it is because its development is an outgrowth from an organic basis. The second essay discusses "*Naturgebiet und politisches Gebiet*," and treats in detail political development as determined by historical geographical conditions. In the description of the effort of an entire people to become a natural unit, the author introduces valuable discussions of the nature of geographical and political independence considered with careful reference to the manifold differentiations in space and according to wealth and social status. With such differentiation there enters the factor of the rise in the political value of the territory, and this in turn brings about greater individualization.

The third essay deals with "*Die Entwicklung des Zusammenhangs zwischen Staat und Boden*." Ratzel declares that Morgan's contrast of "*societas*" and "*civitas*" is untenable, and maintains that we do not know such a thing as a stateless people (*kein staatloses Volk*). Of particular interest is Ratzel's discussion of the relation of political activity to the soil and of what he calls territorial politics. He regards the present extended sphere of so-called national politics as a step backward in real social development. The fourth and last essay treats of the "*Einwurzelung des Staates durch die Arbeit des Einzelnen*." The sum of the demands of the state on the soil becomes con-

stantly greater and the individual household economy which makes use of the soil is the basis of the life of the state. In the course of his discussion of these two propositions the author states that it was one of the gravest errors of the older ethnography and political geography to assume that the nomadic stage was a necessary stage of human development through which all societies had at one time passed, and, farther, that common property in the soil or communal property was the original form of property (*Ureigenthum*). In an examination of the cases where one finds to-day common ownership, it will be found that it is combined with all stages of culture (*Kulturstufen*), that it exists to the same limited extent and in the same population groups where other forms of property are found and that it is most seldom found where the conditions give the impression of being the most primitive.

Condition of the Negro in Various Cities.—There has been so much talk, both North and South, about the condition and progress of the American negro that it is quite time that we have some results of accurate observation laid before us as a basis for future discussions. It is both significant and a cause for hopefulness that the Federal Government has at last come to the rescue. The voluminous investigations and the valuable statistical publications of our general government have in the period since the war touched upon nearly every topic under the sun except this great social problem which it might have been supposed the government would be the first to take up. The Department of Labor, however, has now announced its intention of examining into the actual condition of the negro. In the May number of its *Bulletin* it devotes over one hundred pages to the publication of the results of an interesting private investigation conducted under the direction of George G. Bradford, Esq., of Boston, and one of the trustees of Atlanta University. Mr. Bradford was especially interested in the high mortality rate among the negroes in Southern cities, and he outlined a series of schedules to be sent to various graduates of Atlanta University to see whether the real causes could be ascertained. From this beginning the investigation widened in scope until it included inquiries on a number of other points as well. Only a bare summary of the results in the tables of statistics is printed in the *Bulletin*. It is the intention of those who have the matter in hand to make these results the basis of a conference on the subject at Atlanta, and to publish on the part of the university a more comprehensive report dealing also with propositions for reform.

The collection of the data was left entirely to colored men and was a voluntary service under the direction of a committee, appointed by the university, consisting of three graduates, one member of the

faculty and one member of the board of trustees. About fifty graduates of Atlanta, thirty of Fisk and fifteen colored graduates of Berea, besides prominent negro doctors, lawyers, clergymen and teachers in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama and Tennessee were invited to participate—in all about 300 persons, of whom 100 volunteered and fifty completed their part of the investigation within the time allowed them. The completed investigation covers eighteen cities, all but one of which are in Southern States. Particular attention was paid to the selection of groups and to the character of the data secured in the cities of Atlanta, Nashville and Cambridge (Mass.), and the results are the most representative and accurate from these three places. The plan followed was to select groups of from ten to twenty houses standing together in the portions of the city taken to be typical of the condition of the negro in that locality. The part of the tables which is supposed to be most trustworthy covers 16 groups in Atlanta, 10 in Nashville and 1 in Cambridge; these groups stand for 324, 246 and 98 families respectively, and 1292, 1090 and 366 individuals respectively in the cities named.

Some of the results indicated in the general summary alluded to are as follows: The figures for household conditions do not indicate overcrowding on the whole, though for some groups and for certain individual families the averages for persons to a room are high. The use of the same room or rooms for cooking, eating, living and sleeping purposes is noticeable and in some groups is quite common. Of 324 families living in Atlanta, 73, or 22.53 per cent, owned the houses in which they lived. In Nashville the percentage was higher, being 116 families out of 246, or 47.15 per cent. In Cambridge, only 3 families out of 98 owned their homes. In the enumeration of ailments of those sick during the year, malarial fever seemed to be the most common complaint. Rheumatism and pneumonia were said to be common, but the large percentage of unknown or unclassified complaints render these figures of doubtful value. The report states that the absence of such diseases as rickets and other developmental lesions in these families shows that the children have a fair heritage of good constitutions to start life with. The death rate of the colored population is greatly in excess of that of the white, but has constantly decreased according to the figures compiled from the health reports of the various cities for a period of fourteen years. The total and the illegitimate births and the birth rate per thousand of both white and colored population are given for the city of Baltimore for the ten year period 1884-1893. It seems from these figures that the birth rate throughout the period is about 10 per cent higher for the white than for the colored; the

average for the first five years compared with the second five indicates that the birth rate for the white population has increased very slightly, but that for the colored has fallen off about ten per cent. The illegitimate birth rate per thousand of the population is several times as great for the colored as for the white population throughout the period.

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